KOREA FOCUS

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Defeats two Koreas policy
Dissolves UNCURK
Upholds independent, peaceful reunification

UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL

A/C.1/PV.1966
21 November 1973

ENGLISH

Twenty-eighth Session

FIRST COMMITTEE

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 21 November 1973, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman:	Mr. BORCH	(Denmark)
later:	Mr. MEHDI (Vice-Chairman)	(Pakistan)
Rapporteur:	Mr. de SOTO	(Peru)

- Question of Korea: [41] (continued)

(a) Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea

(b) Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea

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The Chairman: As members are surely aware, there has been a new and promising development during the past few days. As a result of careful consultations among the sponsors of the draft resolutions in documents A/C.1/L.644 and Corr. 1 and A/C.1/L.645, I am now able to read out a statement—behind which I believe the whole Committee can unite—setting out the action that the Committee recommends that the General Assembly take in regard to agenda item 41, the question of Korea.

With that in mind I propose to conclude the general debate at this stage . . .

It was so decided.

The Chairman: In application of rule 130 of the rules of procedure, I shall now read out the following statement which I propose should become the consensus of the Committee:

"After consultations with the co-sponsors of the two draft resolutions in documents A/C.1/L.644 and Corr. 1 and A/C.1/L.645 on the Korean question, the Chairman is authorized to announce consensus that these two draft resolutions on the Korean question will not be put to the vote at the current session of the General Assembly. The Chairman is further authorized to make the following statement:

"It is noted with satisfaction that a Joint Communique was issued by the North and South of Korea on 4 July 1972, which provides for the following three principles on the reunification of Korea:

"(a) The reunification of the country should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference;

"(b) The reunification of the country should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side;

"(c) Great national unity should be promoted.

"It is the general hope that the South and the North of Korea will be urged to continue their dialogue and widen their many-sided exchanges and co-operation in the above spirit so as to expedite the independent peaceful reunification of the country.

"The General Assembly decides to dissolve immediately the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

May I take it that it is the desire that this recommendation to the General Assembly should form the consensus of this Committee?

KOREA FOCUS

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Tragedy of Korean National Division Shall be Terminated

Li Jong Mok (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) spoke in Korean; English text furnished by the delegation:

In the last few days, during the discussion of the question on Korea in the First Committee, the representatives of various countries of the world have expressed warm congratulations and words of welcome to us, the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The delegation of teh DPRK avails itself of this opoprtunity to express its heartfelt hanks to the representatives of various countries who sponsored resolutions favoring the just position of the government of the DPRK and those who supported such resolutions by their statements in the First Committee.

• *The delegation of the DPRK and the representatives of the socialist countries and the third-world countries supporting the DPRK have strongly demanded that the foreign troops should get out of South Korea. But the representatives of the United States and the countries that follow it have openly asserted that the foreign troops should remain in South Korea.*

• *We have demanded one Korea, but they have demanded two Koreas; we have demanded reunification, but they have demanded separation.*

• *We have demanded independence, but they have cried for intervention and dependence; we have stood in a position of loving the country and loving the nation, but they have stood in the position of selling the country and betraying the nation.*

• *We have maintained the position of keeping the peace, but they have taken a position of instigating confrontation and antagonism.*

Ours is an era of historical changes in which every country and every nation of the world is following the road of liberation and independence, grasping their destiny in their own hands.

Our demand for reunification, independence, patriotism and peace fully conforms with that basic trend of our times.

But the demand of the other side, which stands for separation, dependence, treason and confrontation, is against the current of the times. It is no more than a desperate attempt at trying to maintain by hook or by crook the outdated policy of intervention which has gone bankrupt.

Today the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly unanimously adopted a decision on the immediate dissolution of the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea," after expressing satisfaction at the Joint North-South Statement of 4 July 1972 and its hope that dialogue and many-sided exchanges will be promoted between the North and the South in the spirit of that Joint Statement.

It is indeed of great significance that the United Nations has discussed the question on Korea and adopted that decision in the presence of the representative of the DPRK after 26 years of involvement in the Korean question.

This is a fruition of joint efforts by the Korean people and the peace-loving countries of the world to eliminate the interference of the outside forces in the enternal affairs of Korea.

The dissolution of the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" means a defeat for those forces that have been hampering the independence and

peaceful reunification of Korea and talking about an "election under United Nations supervision" which are going bankrupt beyond retrieve.

The dissolution of the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" has also proved more clearly that there is no ground or reason whatsoever for the foreign troops under the signboard of the "United Nations Forces" to stay on in South Korea any longer.

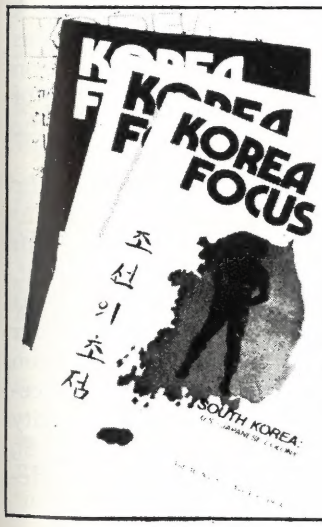
Furthermore, the attempt to bring about entry of two Koreas into the United Nations was rejected by the overwhelming majority of the Member States of the United Nations.

The Government of the DPRK, with the active support and encouragement of the peace-loving peoples of the whole world, will wage a resolute struggle towards the end of making all the foreign troops under the signboard of the "United Nations Forces" withdraw from South Korea and to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of their country without any interference from outside forces.

No one can shake the steel-strong will of our people, who are determined to build their own destiny with their own efforts, and no force can reverse the powerful current of the Korean nation marching towards national unity and reunification.

Li Jong Mok, vice-minister of foreign affairs of the DPRK speaks at the United Nations.

We are firmly convinced that the day will soon come when the tragedy of national division will be terminated and our posterity may take over the unified fatherland and the whole nation may live a new, happy life in its prosperous fatherland.



KOREA FOCUS

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

UN Verdict — U.S. Out of Korea

Twenty years ago, 1953, the United States armed forces, using the cover of the United Nations, met their defeat in Korea. The signing of the truce agreement at Panmunjom, Korea signalled admission of that defeat and was interpreted as such in the public writings of General Mark Clark, the U.S. commander in Korea at the time.

Now, two decades later, U.S. policy towards Korea has met another stunning defeat, this time in the diplomatic arena at the United Nations. The general assembly of the world body agreed in its last session that Korea is one country and that reunification is a goal to be worked for; and further that the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK), which had served as the political camouflage for United States military presence in southern Korea, should be dissolved.

This was of course only the latest setback for U.S. cold war policies that have been coming unravelled in recent years. But it may have been one of the most significant defeats for those policies, inasmuch as Korea was the point at which the Cold War at its most intensive, turned hot.

1973 thus ended on a note of anti-imperialist victory adding additional luster to the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Indo-China.

The Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea has from its inception declared the goal of peaceful reunification of the Korean nation. For twenty years the northern part of Korea has been without foreign troops on its soil. For two decades it has made proposal after proposal, in public forums and through private channels, to hasten the reunification of the country. Steps ranging from exchanges of letters and visits between divided families, to nationwide elections free of outside interference, have been put forward by the government in Pyongyang. From the South, however, each proposal was rejected in turn as the "Republic of Korea" (ROK) was turned into a garrison state.

Events finally overtook the Seoul regime, of course. The defeats inflicted on U.S. imperialism in Indochina and elsewhere, detente with the Soviet Union forced upon a U.S. ruling class in crisis, normally established in relations between the U.S. and Japan with China —all of these dictated a shift in relationships on the Korean peninsula. That shift was dramatically presented in the historic July 4, 1972, North-South agreement on the desirability of and joint efforts to be made at peaceful reunification.

The United States and Japan encouraged Seoul to put forth the doctrine of "two Koreas," to enter the UN simultaneously, with reunification to be put off to an indefinite future. Obviously recognition by the world body of two Koreas would exacerbate efforts at reunification and perhaps establish a permanent partition of the Korean nation. Hence, the rejection of this idea by the general assembly must be seen as a confirmation of world support for the July 4 North-South agreement, while Pentagon and Seoul gamesmen scurry back to the drawing boards to figure out new schemes of subversion against the inevitable reunification.

Similarly, the United States government was forced to recognize the inevitable by supporting the dissolution of UNCURK when it was clear that the general assembly would vote overwhelmingly to eliminate that throwback to the Cold War. Still the "United Nations Command" remains, allowing U.S. occupation troops in the south to operate under the flag of the United Nations. A vote to dissolve the command was postponed for a year.

Efforts by peace forces should certainly be stepped up between now and next fall to guarantee that the U.N. finally remove this last vestige of its part in that shameful past.

The main responsibility for peace in Korea still remains with the peace movement of our own country. For it is the U.S. occupation forces that provide the main barrier to peaceful reunification of that country. The majority sentiment that was mobilized to cry out, "U.S., Out of Vietnam" should now add to its demand, "U.S., Out of Korea."

United Nations Commission for Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) building in Seoul.

LONG LIVE ONE KOREA

By RUTH GAGE-COLBY

The text of the Security Council Resolution on that fateful day in 1950 called for "the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic government in Korea." But how? By war!

The terrible war that ensued was known as the United Nations police action and, incredibly enough, has been so accepted by a majority of the UN members. These many years they have looked upon the Korean war as a justifiable struggle by the *good* forces of the "free world" against the *bad* forces of "international communism."

That such a theory could have been seriously entertained was not only incredible but immensely dangerous. U Thant warned that unless the obsession with communism could be overcome, the great American people would allow their country to be brought to ruin and perchance the world with it! The obsession persisted, however, and it was not until the opening of the Twenty eighth General Assembly in September 1973 that an extraordinary memorandum from the government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea was received at the United Nations and a delegation from Pyongyang was recognized for the first time. It was Li Jong Mok, Chairman of the delegation, who, on November 14th, exposed the true role of the United Nations in Korea and gave the world the other side of the Korean story.

Speaking forthrightly for his people and their leader, Kim Il Sung, the North Korean spokes-

man issued a resounding challenge to the United States of America:

"If they have no wild ambitions for aggression, to turn Korea into their permanent military base, and if they have no colonial ambition to convert South Korea into their commodity market, why should they try to divide our nation permanently into two?"

The Korean issue at the 1973 Assembly was basically a question of whether there should be one Korea or two Koreas in the United Nations.

There is in truth, in our day as there has been for over two thousand years, one and only one Korea, despite the political mythology and the financial largese emanating from Washington to make it appear otherwise. The frantic attempt at the Twenty-eighth General Assembly to subvert this truth was a foreordained fiasco ending in a rebuke it deserved.

In the judgment of the Chairman of Pyongyang's delegation: "The proposal for simultaneous entry into the United Nations of two Koreas is a crafty trick for covering up in the *name* of the United Nations the old imperialist method of divide and rule."

He accused the United States of concealing its aggression and intervention against Korea behind the facade of the United Nations Commission for Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) and the United Nations Command (the U.S. forces) and predicted the Two-Korea plot "doomed to failure."

For a solid week, November 14-26, the debate went on in the Political Committee and the Plenary sessions of the Assembly. The "Western" resolution proposing simultaneous membership of North and South Korea was authored by seven NATO countries headed by the U.S.A., supported by Japan and three SEATO countries plus two Latin American states, Uruguay and Nicaragua. The "Eastern" resolution, backed by nine European countries headed by the USSR as well as two Far Eastern countries (China and the Mongolian People's Republic), three Middle Eastern states and a number of African countries, recommended "entry into the United Nations of a single, unified Korea."

The African were particularly condemnatory of the United States "occupation of Korea." A typical example was the description of the United Nations Command by Hussain Nur Elmi of Somalia as being "composed of American soldiers commanded by Americans and founded by the government of the United States . . . just an imperial expedition."

Somalis, like other African members, favored the proposal of the North Korean Memorandum and the recommendation of the North Korean delegation for a Confederation that would not impose the social system of either Korea on the other as "a realistic and sensible solution."

It was generally accepted that the integrity of the Korean people could be maintained within the framework of a Confederation and that the future must ultimately be decided by the Korean people themselves under the Charter principle of self-determination.

On November 21, the dissolution of the all-but-defunct UN Commission for Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea was made final by Assembly Consensus.

On the same day at a tense plenary session of the Assembly, Consensus was achieved for *no vote* on the Korean issue. The Two-Korea Resolution thus failed as had been anticipated, while the One-Korea Resolution actually won a long term victory. What is most important, the North Koreans and Koreans in general regarded the outcome at the United Nations as a major victory.

Over Seoul the United Nations flag temporarily continues to fly, but not for long.

Now the whole world knows what Ambassador Jamil Baroody of Saudi Arabia bluntly declared just prior to the Consensus: "The Korean war was an American war under the United Nations Flag!" and furthermore the Member Nations now must realize that the United Nations in Korea was the United States in Korea from 1950 to 1973.

Alexander Gabriel, dean of the UN Correspondents, sums it up in a succinct an optimistic conclusion:

"The UN and U.S. are vanishing from Korea like the proverbial grin from the face of the Cheshire Cat and both the North and South delegates are going home like good Koreans to resume their promising negotiations for unity and—if left alone—to recapture their ancient and beautiful heritage."

Long live One Korea!

We Can Achieve Korean Unification No Compromise with the Splitters

Excerpts of a welcoming speech made by President Kim Il Sung on October 28, 1973 on the occasion of the visit of the Party and government delegation from Bulgaria to the DPRK. (From KCNA text)

In the name of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people, I warmly welcome the Party and government delegation of the Bulgarian People's Republic led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic and our intimate friend.

I also extend the warm greetings of fraternal friendship from the Korean people, through you, to the Bulgarian people.

The relations of fraternal friendship between our two peoples based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are consolidating and developing as the days go by.

During the Second World War the Bulgarian Communists and patriotic people, under the guidance of Comrade Georgi Dimitrov, a prominent figure of the international working-class movement and a staunch anti-fascist fighter, waged a brave struggle against the Hitler fascist clique and the domestic fascist monarchism, with arms in their hands.

The Bulgarian people, who became the masters of the country after the victory of socialist revolution in Bulgaria, have turned their one-time backward country into a prosperous socialist state.

Today the Bulgarian people are accounting great success in the struggle to implement the programme set forth by the Tenth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party on building an advanced socialist society.

DPRK—An Advanced Socialist State

The Korean people sincerely wish the fraternal Bulgarian people greater victory in their future struggle to create a new life.

KIM IL SUNG

TODOR ZHIVKOV

Convinced that the successful carrying out of revolution and construction in each socialist country is precisely the way of making practical contribution to the revolutionary cause of the international working class, we have energetically pushed forward the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country.

Under the leadership of our Party our people have turned their country into an advanced socialist state with modern industry and agriculture and brightly blooming and developing science and culture in a short space of time, smashing the ceaseless aggression and war manoeuverings of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Upholding the magnificent program set forth by the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, our people are now waging a tenacious struggle to bring earlier the complete victory of socialism and the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, accelebrating the revolution and proletarianization of the whole society with definite priority to the ideological revolution.

The successes attained in the building of socialism in the northern half of the Republic thanks to the realities of our country, and thanks to the devoted struggle of our people, instill great hope and pride in the South Korean people and provide a firm political foundation for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

Unification—A Cherished Aspiration

Last year the North-South joint statement was made public and dialogue materialized between the North and the South thanks to the consistent efforts made by our Party and the Government of the Republic for peaceful reunification of the country.

Out of our sincere desire to satisfy the long-cherished aspiration of the entire nation for peaceful national reunification, we advanced a new, five-point program of national reunification on June 23 (1973). However, the South Korean authorities turned it down and at last, together with the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, raised to the United Nations a proposal for simultaneous entry into the U.S. by two Koreas.

The proposal to enter the U.N. as two Koreas runs diametrically counter to the July 4 North-South joint statement in which they agreed to achieve the reunification independently without reliance upon outside forces, in a peaceful way and on the principle of great national unity; it is aimed to divide Korea into two Koreas completely.

It is unthinkable to all that our nation, which has lived as a single nation on the same penisula through a long history, should be divided into two parts in our generation.

If there are any forces demanding division among the Koreans, they are only a handful of South Korean comprador capitalists who are servants of foreign monopoly capital and political stooges of U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism.

It is an indelible crime of treachery to seek the division of the country; it is traitorous conduct to lead our nation again into ruin.

The traitorous forces of South Korea are trying to gratify their lust for power and enjoy personal wealth and honor in return for dividing the country and the nation and selling them off to the foreign aggressors.

The foreign forces of aggression seeking the division of Korea are trying to make use of such traitors and hired men for taking hold of South Korea.

This is a conspiratorial machination to reduce South Korea to a colony and military base of U.S. imperialism forever and to a commodity-market for Japanese militarism.

Originally it is one of the main methods of aggression of modern colonialism to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations, form factions and encourage division, and hatch plots for subversion.

Up to date from the first days of the artificial division of the country owing to the occupation of South Korea by U.S. imperialism, our people have been invariably waging a tireless struggle for the reunification of the country for nearly 30 years.

The present situation urgently demands of us to further intensify the struggle against the splitters at home and abroad—the traitors and the foreign forces of aggression—in order to accelerate the peaceful reunification of the country.

These days rising afresh in South Korea is the struggle of patriotic student youth and people

against the present military fascist ruling system and for the democratization of society and the independent reunification of the country.

The students of Seoul University, who rose up in a demonstration struggle, shouting "Down with the Park regime," stated in their declaration: "Unable to remain an onlooker any longer to the lamentable reality in which the right to existence of the entire popular masses is threatened, we have risen up determinedly today, as our conscience dictates us."

This shows that the South Korean people will never tolerate the military fascist rule and traitorous, country-selling acts of the present rulers.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic will always render active support and encouragement to the just struggle of the South Korean people, and will hold fast to the stand of sharing full responsibility for the struggle of the South Korean people since it is directly related to the vital interests of the whole nation.

The struggle against the two-Koreas-plot and for the realization of the peaceful reunification of the country is also being waged vigorously by the 600,000 Korean citizens in Japan and all other Korean compatriots abroad.

How can any Korean with national conscience just remain an onlooker with folded arms today when the nation is in danger of being split into two forever?

We once again solemnly appeal to all those concerned about the future destiny of the fatherland and the nation to turn out as one man in the sacred patriotic struggle to prevent the perpetual division of the country, whether they be in the north or the south, at home or abroad, irrespective of political views, religious beliefs, and affiliations to any parties or groupings.

World Anti-imperialist Forces Support Korean Unification

There is no more sacred duty for us Communists than to fight against imperialism and for a correct settlement of our national affairs.

Our aim to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country is, in the final analysis, to prevent South Korea from sinking into the mouths of the tigers—U.S. and Japanese imperialism.

Our struggle is a just one.

We can achieve the peaceful reunification of the country only through struggle; we can make no compromise whatsoever with the splitters.

We are convinced that our struggle to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country will receive greater support and encouragement of all the peace-loving peoples of the world.

First of all the socialist countries and all the peoples of the Third World who love justice and fight for the complete liberation of the nation should deal determined blows at the splitters trying to divide Korea permanently and resolutely oppose the present South Korean military fascist regime, hated and rejected by the entire Korean people, suppressing and massacrering the patriots, democratic fighters and people in South Korea in an inhumane way.

The Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned States held some time ago adopted with unanimous approval a resolution demanding the dissolution of the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" (the 28th Session of the United Nations, on November 21, 1973, unanimously agreed in the First Committee to dissolve and dispose post haste with the anti-Korean UNCURK) and the withdrawal of the foreign troops under the sign of the "U.N. forces" from South Korea, opposing the simultaneous entry into the U.N. by two Koreas and fully supporting our program of independent and peaceful reunification.

This constituted great support and inspiration to our people's cause of national reunification, as the very reflection of the trend of the present times against imperialist aggression and intervention and towards independence.

It is high time, we consider, that the United Nations should no longer do anything detrimental to the reunification of Korea as a plaything of the U.S. and should adopt new resolutions giving genuine help to the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, to replace the past, hold "resolutions." (See article on U.N. in this issue).

The Korean people will excellently settle the question of reunification of the country in a

peaceful way on the principle of national self-determination, once al lexternal factors hampering reunification are eliminated.

In the field of international relations, too, all the revolutionary forces of the world should unite themselves firmly and continue to wage a stubborn struggle against imperialism if they are to win the victory of the common cause for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism.

There is a growing trend in the international scene in the direction of switching over from cold war to detente, from confrontation to peaceful co-existence and cooperation.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic view it as a natural thing that this trend of the times towards peace and peaceful cooperation is daily growing under the present circumstances in which the forces of socialism and national liberation are growing in scope and strength and imperialism is weakening with each passing day; and sincerely hope that the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence will win.

But durable peace and security of the world are unthinkable apart from the struggle against imperialism.

The Nature of U.S. Imperialism

The aggressive nature of imperialism will never change.

The more difficult their position becomes the more stubbornly the imperialists are clinging to double-dealing tactics, holding an olive branch in one hand and brandishing the gun and sword in the other, and the more cunningly they are perpetrating acts of aggression, intervention and subversion under the sign of "peace" in every nook and corner of the world.

Just recently, too, the United States staged a fascist military coup d'etat in Chile, murdering President Allende and overturning the legitimate People's Unity Government.

It also egged on the Israeli aggressors to ignite again the war of aggression against Egypt and Syria.

It was also the United States which launched the aggressive war in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in the past.

The ringleader encouraging the colonial wars in many African countries including Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Azania, etc., is also none other than the U.S. imperialists.

The people desire peace; but the imperialists are always engrossed in aggression, subversion and war.

Today in Korea, too, we call for peaceful reunification; but the United States, after letting its stooges sign the July 4 joint statement, incited them to tear the joint statement into pieces the moment they turned back, calling it no more than a sheet of paper, and is openly heading for the fabrication of two Koreas.

We have proposed to stop arms reinforcement and arms race, cut down the armed forces and conclude a peace agreement, but the South Korean authorities are stepping up war preparations, branding our proposal as a lie.

Who can guarantee that they, who are frenziedly engaged in reinforcing their military strength, saying the dialogue should be backed by the armed forces, will not shoot arrows of attack at our Republic tomorrow though they are talking about two Koreas today?

Therefore we consider that one should not evade struggle against imperialism and take to capitulationism for the reason of preserving peace and should not try to obtain security through unprincipled compromise with imperialism.

Peace must be won only through a resolute struggle against the imperialists.

One should not be fooled by false peace prattled by the imperialists, but always keep a high degree of vigilance against their acts of aggression and war, and bring pressure to bear upon them thereby compelling them to come out to the road of peace.

Any one can find peaceful settlement to the problems of each country only when one sees to it that they are solved in conformity with the will and interests of the people of that country under all circumstances. The Arab question, too, we believe, should be settled in the interest of the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples. If the present ceasefire in the Near and Middle East has been achieved at the demand of the Arab peoples, we will support it, and if the Arab peoples oppose it, we will also do so.

From this point of view, we were the first to support the Egyptian and Syrian peoples

when they rose up in the just war against the Israeli aggressors; and we will, in the future, too, spare no active support and encouragement to the Arab peoples so long as they continue their struggle against imperialist aggression.

We hold that the Indochinese problems including the Cambodian question, too, should be solved in conformity with the interests of the peoples of those countries.

It is important to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries for cementing the world anti-imperialist forces.

When they advance as a united force, the socialist countries can exert greater influence upon the development of the world revolution and successfully carry out the struggle against imperialism and for preserving and consolidating peace as well.

Our Party holds fast to our principle based on independence in the struggle to achieve the unity and cohesion among the socialist countries.

We maintain that the socialist countries should attain unity on the basis of opposing imperialism, supporting the national liberation movement in colonies and the international working-class movement, going on towards socialism and communism and abiding by the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of others, mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit.

We strongly hold that the socialist countries, newborn independent states in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and all the peace-loving countries of the world should unite and unfold an energetic struggle against imperialism.

While I was a graduate student, I used to wonder why two atomic bombs were dropped on Japan. Wasn't one enough to devastate Japan into submission? One of my physicist friends offered the simplest explanation. You see, there are two types of atomic bombs, uranium and plutonium. The U.S. military wanted to vaporize Nagasaki simply because they wanted to test both types of bombs on live targets.

Michio Kaku, Lecturer of Physics at Princeton University and Assistant Professor at CCNY.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic regard it as an unshakable principle of their foreign policy to support and encourage the national liberation struggle and the revolutionary struggle of all the peoples in the world fighting against imperialism.

In the future, too, our Party and our people will continue to fight resolutely for the victory of the cause of peace and democracy, national independence and socialism, in unity with the peoples of socialist countries, in unity with the international working class, in unity with the fighting Asian, African and Latin American peoples and in unity with all the progressive peoples of the world, upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialist struggle.

The Korean people and the Bulgarian people have formed firm ties of fraternal friendship in the struggle against imperialism and for the victory of the cause of socialism.

During our last Fatherland Liberation War and in the period of our post-war rehabilitation and construction, the Bulgarian people gave our people a lot of aid, both material and moral.

Our people do not forget this.

Today, too, the Bulgarian people actively support the struggle of our people for the socialist construction and the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

I avail myself of this opportunity to restate my deep thanks to Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the Bulgarian Communist Party, Government and people for the valuable support and cooperation given by the Bulgarian people to our people as class brothers.

We are convinced that the fraternal friendship and solidarity between the two peoples of Korea and Bulgaria will be further consolidated and developed in all fields in the future in the struggle to realize the common purpose and ideal.

Long live indestructible, fraternal friendship and solidarity between the Korean people and the Bulgarian people!

Long live the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian People's Republic!

Long live the ever-victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism!

깡패 통치*

By JOE BRANDT

Kim Dae Jung is a Korean politician who wanted to be president of South Korea.

As an elected member of the National Assembly, he fought against the repression of the opposition parties by the Park Chung Hee regime.

He called for the abolition of the catch-all "anti-communist" and "national security" laws used to stop all opposition to the Park regime. He exposed the fascist USA-fashioned South Korea CIA, and demanded its dissolution.

He exposed corruption and stated that "the illegal money grubbers who are arousing the people's complaints are Park's close associates . . . accumulating wealth, each between several billion and scores of billion Won," and that both judicially and morally President Park Chung Hee, the chief executive, is to blame for the illegal accumulation of wealth."

Kim received his widest support and political-following because of his principled and energetic defense of the need for peaceful reunification.

He was concerned about the continued division of the nation and advocated the country's peaceful reunification at the very time when the South Korean authorities persecuted and arrested those who simply uttered the words peaceful reunification.

He supported the path of reunification by courageously and energetically exposing the maneuvers of the rulers to split the nation and keep it divided in the name of "unification." He said: "Park Chung Hee has neither the conscience nor ability to reunify the country" and the gist of Kim's reunification plan was "to check war, alleviate tensions between the North and the South, and bring about neutralization and the prevention of armed conflicts." (*Minjok Sibo,* April 1, 1973)

"Defeated At Counting, Won At Voting"

In April, 1971, as a candidate of the opposition New Democratic Party, Kim won 5,435,-900 votes, or 46%. Park Chung Hee of the ruling Democratic Republican Party received 6,342,-828 votes.

In four of the eleven major subdivisions in the country, Kim received a majority of the votes, including 1,198,018 votes in the Seoul Province.

Considering the typical Watergate tactics in which that election was conducted, it is doubtful who the real winner was in that campaign.

The Japanest JiJi Press described Kim Dae Jung as "A popular politician who was defeated at counting, but won at voting" because he was "the strongest candidate against the Park Chung Hee government."

The South Korean authorities do not welcome opposition to their fascist rule from any source, especially from a popular presidential opposition candidate. As his chief rival, Park and his henchmen persecuted and made life very uncomfortable for Kim, finally "persuading" him to seek refuge abroad while he still sported a head on his shoulders.

During his exile, Kim travelled between Japan and the United States denouncing the fascist dictatorship of the South Korean authorities, speaking out for democracy in South Korea and advancing the cause of peaceful reunification of his country.

At a press conference in Tokyo, November 1972, Kim charged that democratic forces in

* In the Korean language there is no translation for "Watergate: but the word closest to Watergate as we now know it is gangster rule, our title in Korean for this article.

Asia "are being oppressed and destroyed with the money and armies of the dictatorial regimes that was strengthened with the weapons and economic aid provided them by the USA and Japan" and he continued by saying that unless the US and Japan "failed to undertake immediately a change in their mistaken policies, the people of Asia who have no hope of winning their freedom or bread, will inevitably turn to communism, which at least will guarantee them bread."

In July, 1973, he formed in the United States the "National Congress For the Restoration of Democracy in South Korea And Acceleration of Reunification." While in Tokyo, he consulted with leaders of organizations affiliated with the "MINDAN" (Republic of Korea Residents Association in Japan) for the purpose of establishing a center for the above organization in Tokyo.

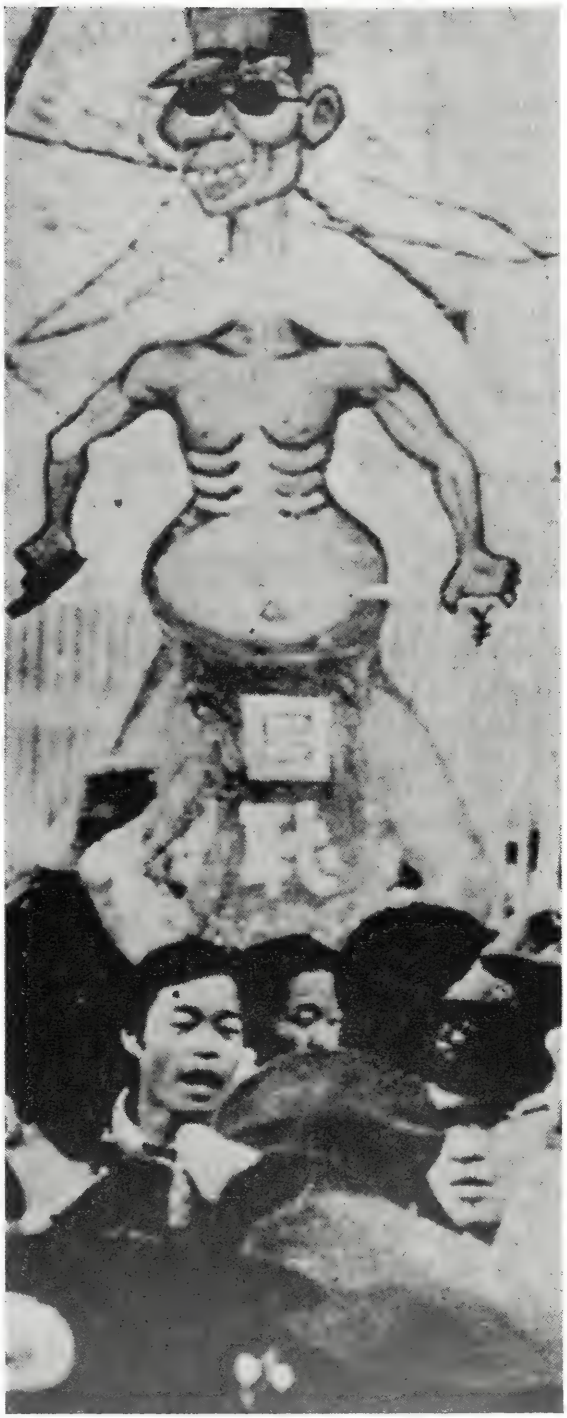
The Korean CIA hoped that exile would put an end to Kim's opposition activities but it did not work. They continued their harassment of Kim while in exile to prevent his active opposition to Park Chung Hee.

In April, 1973, while delivering a lecture to Korean-Americans in San Francisco, CIA agents attempts to break up the gathering and similarly hindered his speaking tour in other U.S. cities. They intimidated him with letters and telephone calls, demanding that he "give up your opposition to Park or at least keep silent." His brother-in-law, Li Song Ho, in an interview with the JiJi Press September 2, 1973 accused the Korean CIA of planning to kidnap and assassinate Kim Dae Jung while he was touring the United States.

While in Japan, the Chief of the Sixth Bureau of the Korean CIA telephoned and sent letters to Korean residents warning them "not to be intimate with Kim Dae Jung." It was obvious that Kim's days of opposition activities were coming to an end.

South Korean "Plumbers" At Work*

On August 8, following a conference with leaders of the Korean United Democratic Party, as Kim was leaving the Conference Room No. 2211 in the Grand Palace Hotel at 1:10 in the afternoon, Kim Dae Jung was kidnapped by



Demonstrators in Tokyo hoist effigy of Park Chung Hee.

* A crew of gangsters organized by Nixon to carry out criminal acts.

Korean CIA agents, most of whom, it turned out later, were top echelon "diplomats" in the South Korean Embassy in Japan, and agents of the Korean CIA brought into Tokyo to organize the kidnapping.

". . . the kidnapping was another dubious exploit of the South Korean CIA, which has long been engaged in a worldwide effort to silence the Korean opposition." (*New York Times editorial* Aug. 17, 1973)

". . . the abduction case has reminded the rest of the world of the 1967 incident in which 17 allegedly anti-government Korean residents in West Germany were kidnapped by the South Korean CIA operatives and spirited away back to South Korea." Shinruku Nozaki, *Japan Times,* August, 1973.

These victims of the Korean CIA were framed, jailed and some executed.

The kidnapping was planned, managed and carried out by Park Chung Hee's agents of the South Korean CIA, including members of the South Korean Observation Mission to the United Nations. Thus, on August 17, the UPI reported that among those Koreans who disappeared from the New York-Washington D.C. scene following the sensational reports of the kidnapping of Kim, were Consul-General Son In Dok from New York and Chu Yong Chol, a member of the "ROK Observer Delegation at the United Nations," and other members of the South Korean Embassy in the USA.

The kidnappers obviously had the sanction for their criminal acts, not only from the South Korean authorities, but also indirect help and support from right-wing, pro-fascist elements in the Japanese establishment.

The Tanaka regime and the top Japanese monopolists, trying to bolster the discredited South Korean regime and help it stay in power did not want to see the Kim kidnapping disrupt Japanese relations with the Park government and hurt its investments. At the same time, they were fearful of revealing evidence linking members of the Japanese right to the kidnapping conspiracy.

The August 22nd issue of *Tokyo Shinbun* stated: "The offenders crossed the strictly guarded coastline of South Korea without a hitch, and this makes us believe that their organization is a very powerful one. This is a crime quite impossible without the authorities' connivance or without some connection with the powers that be."

On August 24, Japanese Minister of Justice Tanaka declared at a press conference "my sixth sense tells me that no one but a Central Intelligence Agency, a government body of a foreign country, or its secret police, could perform the play of taking Kim Dae Jung outside across the borders of a country."

The *Washington Post,* dated August 25, 1973 said: "a South Korean agency has harassed Mr. Kim, dogging him even during his stay in the U.S. So someone has decided to abduct him by force in order to silence him."

On August 9, the JiJi Press Agency stated: "The South Korean people's interest in this incident is exceptionally great, and many make no secret of their suspicion of the South Korean CIA's involvement in this incident."

Here is a well-known public figure chloroformed and spirited out of a popular hotel in broad daylight, driven to Osaka, dragged to the seashore, placed in a rubber boat which cruised for one hour and then placed on a South Korean 500-ton-class warship waiting to take him to South Korea.

In an interview later on, Mr. Kim reported that he was blindfolded, his hands and feet tied with rope, a gag shoved in his mouth and 100 pounds of weights fastened to his right arm and left leg. It would appear that the plan was to throw him overboard and drown him.

It was the instant public outcry from prominent Korean residents in Japan, together with representatives of Japanese progressive, Marxist and labor forces, that stayed the hand of the Park Chung Hee CIA killers and assassins.

At around 10 P.M. on August 13, 1973, the fifth day after he had been kidnapped, he was escorted to his home in Seoul—bruised and bandaged and under house arrest.

Despite the protests of the Japanese people,

demanding an investigation from the South Korean authorities, the apprehension and punishment of the criminals, the Japanese government avoided treating this case as infringing on its sovereignty and a criminal abuse of diplomatic privileges on the soil of Japan.

After seventy-one days, on October 6, the South Korean fascist authorities were forced by the pressure of the South Korean people and world public opinion to set Kim Dae Jung free.

For the South Korean people, this was another spark in the burning fires now engulfing the fascist Park Chung Hee regime.

Kim Dae Jung weeps as he describes kidnapping to newsmen.

Even among the anti-communist bourgeois nationalist Koreans at home and abroad, anti-Park organized movements are mushrooming. One of many such examples is the statement of the "Save Kim Dae Jung Committee of Chicago," which is headed by the former mayor of Seoul. The statement says, in part: "Mr. Kim's plight epitomizes the demise of political democracy in South Korea and the ruthless, inhuman, and vicious manner in which the present power elite in Seoul is trampling on the fundamental civil rights and political aspirations of the Korean people. . . .It is with American tanks and guns, paid by American taxpayers, including ourselves, that Park is perpetrating his tyranny."

The above courageous sentiments expressed by the Korean bourgeois nationalists is unfortunately negated by a further statement which can only reflect their class interests and anti-communist phobia leading them, as usual into a blind alley. When they say. "We do not, however, advocate that Washington jettison its political, economic and military ties with Seoul."

The latter part of their statement reflects a policy and a course which the South Korean people in action against the Park Chung Hee dictatorship are not in the mood of accepting as a way out of the dilemma in South Korea.

This is like asking the perpetrators of an arson to be good enough to put out the fire. The Korean people and the world know that those responsible for the present fascist regime in South Korea are, in the first place, in Washington and Tokyo.

Once U.S. imperialism stops interfering in the internal affairs of the Korean nation, once there are no more U.S. bayonets to bolster the pygmy, the "giant" tyrant reverts to his normal stature—a cowardly mouse and "Park's perpetrating tyranny" come to an end, then the Korean people—all of them—including some of the patriotic Korean bourgeois Nationalists will justly and promptly dispatch the tyrant to his Gods and all the king's (Tricky Dicky) horses and all the king's men won't put Park Chung Hee back together again.

World Congress of Peace

Supports Korean People's Struggle For Peaceful Reunification

Opening session of the World Peace Congress.

"The initiative of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea designed to bring about the peaceful reunification of Korea, has met with wide response throughout the world."

LEONID BREZHNEV
From his address to the Congress
October 26, 1973

Millions of people throughout the world focused their attention and hopes on the 3,500 delegates meeting in Moscow October 25th to 31st, representing 143 countries, over 120 international and regional non-government organizations, 1,100 political parties and national organizations in a World Congress of Peace known as the "First General Assembly of the Peoples of the World."

Among the delegates were 300 deputies of national parliaments, 100 ministers of national governments.

Although they represented differing political trends and subscribe to divergent views, although they were in disagreement with one another on many issues, they were unanimous in their support of the policy of detente.

This was also reflected in the debates, and summarized in numerous documents, some of which are presented here.

The Congress discussed questions of opposing imperialism and colonialism and safeguarding world peace and security and adopted a statement on the Korean question.

The statement follows:

(1) We hold that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from South Korea, an end be put to all forms of interference in Korea's internal affairs and the question of Korean reunification left to the Koreans themselves.

(Continued on page 60)

FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE

Resolutions Passed by World Peace Congress

A UNITED KOREA SPELLS PEACE IN ASIA

Peace and Security in Asia

Peace and security in Asia is threatened primarily by the imperialist policies of aggression, subversion and by dividing Asians against Asians.

The peoples of Asia have recorded major successes against these policies. The non-alignment policy adopted by many Asian countries is a valuable contribution towards peace, security and cooperation in the region. This basically anti-imperialist policy, the heroic victory of the Vietnamese people against US imperialism, the emergence of Bangladesh, the Japanese people's anti-militarist movement and steps to secure durable peace in the Indian sub-continent are welcome efforts against imperialist conspiracies. As a result, a decisive shift in the balance of forces for peace and freedom has been achieved.

(Continued on page 62)

END TO ISRAELI AGGRESSION WILL GUARANTEE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The Middle East

The recent military explosion in the Middle East has shown with tragic impact the danger of the long absence of a peace settlement in that area due to Israel's continued persistent aggression, which is a danger to peace, and Israel's refusal to implement the UN resolutions, and to the consequences of the continued occupation of Arab lands. It has confirmed also that such intransigence by Israel cannot yield success in the modern world. The latest decisions of the Security Council are based exactly on this, confirming, in fact, that in present international relations there must be no legalization of annexation by force. These decisions show a realistic way to an immediate, just and complete settlement of the Middle East crisis. The basis of such a settlement is the immediate implementation of the Security Council resolutions of October 22, 23 and 25, 1973, the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab lands in conformity with the provisions of UN Security Council Resolution No. 242 and the basic principles of the UN Charter, as well as the full guarantee for the lawful rights and security of all the states and peoples of the region, including the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to return to their homeland and to self-determination, in accordance with the UN resolutions.

North Korean Journey:

A VIEW OF WORKERS' DEMOCRACY

By FRED CARRIER

Co-Chairman AKFIC

Korea put its best foot forward at once through its children. Shortly after landing in Pyongyang, the strain of a long journey halfway round the world was eased when three children, girls about the age of 10 decked in colorful native costumes, met us at the ramp of our plane to present us with bouquets of flowers and welcoming smiles which cut through the necessary officialdom.

While the children were obviously schooled in the performance, it was equally clear that they were deeply sincere—an impression that was often felt during our visit. The child who came forward to me took my hand tightly between her two small hands and did not let go for the next ten minutes through pictures and the long walk to a waiting limousine. In her radiant eyes and a periodic tugging of my hand I could read her feelings. She understood that I was a foreigner who had come to her beloved country, the land of Kim Il Sung and socialism, out of friendship.

It was her duty—and how seriously she carried it through!—to make me aware of the friendship of the Korean people for those who come in friendship. She represented a human counterpart to the official recognition by the People's Government that there is another America that does not condone imperialism or seek to hold back the tides of national liberation sweeping across the Third World.

A delegation from the American-Korean Friendship and Information Center consisting of Joseph Brande, executive director and *Korea Focus* editor; Fred Carrier, co-chairman; and Prof. Robert Ante, director of education, visited the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from June 19 to July 3, 1973 as guests of the Korean Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and of the Korean people. The accompanying article was written on behalf of the delegation.

A few hours later from the seventh-story balcony adjoining my suite at the spanking new Portong Hotel, I watched children playing in a nearby schoolyard. Their laughs could have sounded anywhere in the world. Their only distinguishing sign was a uniform of dark blue skirts or trousers topped by white blouses and red neck-scarves. Another group of children, this time boys, chanced by through the garden separating the hotel from the schoolyard. They were students, too, enroute somewhere. Not quite marching, they nonetheless seemed to be clustered behind a recognized leader.

It seemed fitting that the children should welcome us for Korea is a youthful land. Paradoxical as this may seem, for Pyongyang itself is 1,500 years old, it characterizes the current generations who have been born in a socialist era. More than half of the population is under 30 which means their memories can stretch only to the Korean War, if that far, while the rest of Korea's colonial experience is something learned from tales spun by their parents or from school.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is so busy erasing the colonial mentality and constructing an independent industrial economy that the youth express the fundamental character of the country: confidence, pride, devotion to the revolution. Everything has been built in the current generation, for the bombing carried out by the U.S. in 1950-1951 virtually destroyed urban-industrial Korea. The U.S. military command prided itself on a job well done, having leveled every important target in Korea. Thus the reconstruction of a People's Korea under socialism has been a liberating process from backwardness and colonialism, and a regenerating process born out of destruction.

The School System

At the center of the Korean Revolution are

the children who have been termed "the flower buds of the country" by Kim Il Sung. Insofar as socialism blossoms it will be through its children. Certainly the People's Republic is sparing no effort to prepare an educated, disciplined, technically competent youth.

We had ample opportunity to observe the workings of an educational system which embraces an 11-year compulsory program ranging from kindergarten through higher middle-school, and beyond that technical schools or the university for those best qualified.

At the Sin Hueng Senior Middle School in Pyongyang, science is taught in well-equipped classrooms. The teacher demonstrates the techneque being studied, then groups of about five students around work-tables watch while one of their number repeats the experiment. Each student that I observed had a notebook he neatly provided with ample notes and illustrations.

In other studies, too, there is a mixture of theory with practice. Perhaps the clearest illustration of this was a class conducted at the Students' and Children's Palace in Pyongyang where a group of teenagers were learning the theory of the combutsion engine, the mechanical workings of a tractor, how to actually drive a tractor, and literally how to take apart and repair the machine. At an appropriate point in his learning process the student is provided opportunity to use the tractor as part of the work done on a cooperative farm.

The head teacher at Sin Hueng seemed surprised when I asked about disciplinary problems, so I hastened to explain the serious disorder prevalent in urban schools in the U.S. He said that only rarely did Korean teachers have disciplinary problems. Education is so highly valued in his country, and the sense of its practical importance so strong in the thoughts of students, that there is a general attitude of serious effort. When some problem does arise, however, the pressure from peers exerted through student organizations is always sufficient to correct it.

Such was one simple evidence of the working of socialism, supported by the order in each classroom, the neatness of student notebooks, the clean halls and playgrounds (policed and raked each morning, rain or shine, by student work forces). What a relief it was to travel about and never see a broken school window! It was also encouraging to learn that at Sin Hueng there is a ratio of one teacher for every 17 students. Insofar as the People's Republic has a problem, it is not one of unemployed teachers but of how to provide more teachers for its rapidly expanding system.

Education is something of a mania in socialist Korea. Perhaps the single most telling fact is that all Koreans, young and old, lay aside all other tasks each Saturday afternoon to spend two hours in study.

It is a marvelous collective effort to amend the deficiencies of the past, to raise political consciousness, to expand technical knowledge, and to create a cultural climate that inspires intellectual as well as physical effort. Viewing the same phenomenon statistically, a generation ago all of Korea lacked even one university or higher technical school. Today, in the People's Republic alone there are more than 500 technical schools to train skilled labor and another 140 institutions of higher learning. Kim Il Sung University is the largest with 11,000 full-time students.

At the Palace for Students and Children in Pyongyang, a massive building with 500 rooms, we spent an enjoyable Sunday afternoon observing some of the 10,000 youth who make use of its facilities every day. A large staff of teachers, artists, technicians and athletes were guiding young people in endeavors that ranged from pure pleasure to pure politics.

In one class a group of girls about 12 or 13 years old were studying the 100-year history of U.S. imperialism toward Korea. Most of the activities were otherwise, such as gymnastics, wrestling, painting, radio repair, machine shop. In one dance studio a group of girls about the age of 10 put on a near-professional performance of modern dance and classical ballet.

Later that evening we saw the fruit of such musical training at a performance of the national Children's Orchestra and Choir, conducted by a 15-year-old boy. A ballet in honor of the revolution was a stirring part of the performance.

Industrial Growth

Such educational accomplishments are an outgrowth of the industrial revolution that Korea is carrying out with careful planning. Only

a rapidly growing core of technicians could vide means to afford such extensive education for all the people, while at the same time only a rapidly growing core of teehnicians could staff the new industry, the hospitals and clinics which dot the whole country, and the schools themselves.

At Hamhung, one of the major industrial centers, we saw huge factories producing chemicals, fertilizer, machinery and textiles. One of the most impressive plants is the Yong Sun Machine-Building Factory whose 10,000 workers are producing the equipment used in mining, processing of ores, generation of water and steam-power, and in a wide range of manufacturing. It was a fascinating experience to watch a 3,000-ton press shape molten steel into a custom piece of machinery to be used in expanding socialist industry. What became evident by this operation is that the People's Republic is capable of producing its own heavy industry in whatever special fields it chooses.

The DPRK is no longer dependent solely on export of its raw materials, characteristic of a colonial economy, but it has the capacity to change its abundant resources of minerals and power into capital goods which will form the backbone of an industrial society.

At the February 8 Vinylon Factory, which produces enough fiber annually to provide two outfits of clothing for everyone in the country, we experienced the special satisfaction Koreans take in this plant, for vinylon is a *juche* product. Unable to grow cotton because of its climate, socialist Korea developed a synthetic fabric made from its own resources of limestone and anthracite. Vinylon is thus a totally home-made product utilizing domestic resources in a process invented by a Korean chemist.

All of the equipment in the February 8 plant is also a product of Korea's new industry! No wonder vinylon has become an important symbol of *juche,* which means independence and self-reliance. In textiles as in many other areas of production Korea has liberated its eeonomy from colonialism—that is, from dependence on a more developed industrial economy which provides manufactures at high prices while taking raw materials at low prices.

Juche sometimes takes exaggerated forms as in the Sinchon Museum on the Korean War where no mention was made of the role played by the Chinese army in driving American invaders back below the 38th parallel. There are humorous aspects, too, such as occurred in the Palace of National Culture when we chided our hosts about the plastic representations of Kim Il Sung produced by Korean artists. What revolutionary hardened by four decades of struggle would not show a wrinkle on his face!

But our host, the director of the museum, was cordial with our "capitalist" esthetics and with a knowing grin promised to take it up with the artists on Monday. These minor diversions, however, did not detract from the impression we gained that Korea's *juche* is a necessary counteractive to a long colonial experience, most recently of the division of the Korean people by U.S. imperialism. To counter powerful imperialist forces and to propel a small, youthful socialist state toward greater strength, *juche* is a means of evoking collective revolutionary consciousness.

The gains of industry indicate that the People's Republic has followed a sound economic policy. By 1970 the country was producing in just 12 days the equivalent of its total industrial production for 1944 (the last pre-liberation year). What country of the Third World would not envy such a feat?

At the time of our visit, midway through the current plan which runs from 1971-1976, the attempt was being made to more than double 1970 production by the end of the Six Year Plan. From the results attained by June of 1973, with mid-plan quotas already attained, the 1976 goal is within reach.

Everywhere we went we found people hard at work, testifying to the great effort that lies behind economic growth. And behind hard work lies the expanding political consciousness of the masses. "When the masses are aroused by political education, they can exert remarkable strength," a plant manager explained. Given careful planning, the success of plans depends upon a high degree of political consciousness among workers.

New High-Rise Apartments

Far and away the most striking evidence of the benefits of hard work are the bright new high-rise apartments that abound in Pyong-

yang, Hamhung and everywhere else. Made from prefabricated concrete blocks that form rooms, these apartments range from four to twelve stories in height. Most of the urban workers live in such buildings, enjoying central heating, running water, electricity and clean, safe surroundings.

We visited one such apartment belonging to a nurse, Li Yon Kyong, whom we encountered by chance as she returned from her night shift at the hospital. She was gracious enough to invite us for a visit. Her husband was already gone to work, and her two small children were safely ensconced in a nursery. We sat on cushions in what might be called a living room. It was simply furnished with a desk and chair, bookcase, portable closet, and TV. Another room of the same size contained a small bed, several cabinets and dressers, and an electric sewing machine. Both of these rooms serve as bedrooms at night with mats providing additional bedding. There was also a small kitchen and a bathroom. For this apartment Mrs. Li and her husband pay approximately two percent of their family income.

While such quarters are small compared to more affluent American standards, they mark a vast improvement in the lives of most Koreans. It is a fair judgment to say that in socialist Korea the mass of people are better housed than anywhere in Asia. If one adds the social conditions surrounding these neighborhoods—the absence of anything resembling ghetto conditions, cultural deprivation, poverty, violence, drugs, sexual hazards—then the apartments of Pyongyang provide better living conditions than large sections of cities like New York or Philadelphia.

Conditions in the rural areas are also rapidly improving because the People's Republic has given high priority to raising the peasants to cultural equality with urban workers. Part of the drudgery of farm labor has been alleviated by machinery which performs the heavy work in the fields. Every cooperative farm also enjoys a complete irrigation system with a network of canals and pumping stations. All peasant homes have electricity and by the end of 1976 will have running water. At the Pong Dai Cooperative Farm, not far from Hamhung, household incomes are comparable to those of urban workers. The farm has a small hospital staffed by a doctor and nurses, a school, nursery facilities, two stores. Nearby there is an advanced agricultural school, so that Pong Dai already boasts 80 engineers and assistant engineers among its 700 workers.

Everywhere in the People's Republic, on its farms or in its cities, one has the sense of a decent society in which equalitarianism prevails. There is no wealthy class but there is no longer any poverty, either. Everyone enjoys a certain richness of life that has to do with purposiveness and security.

Pyongyang, where one million people live, has streets which are clean and safe at night. The only policemen visible are traffic directors who are unarmed. The stores are not lavish with luxuries but good foods are plentiful while everyone in the country is decently clothed. There is a sense of energy and purpose as people move to their jobs or to their studies. It is a busy country, bursting with revolutionary fervor, for there is so much to be done. Within the revolution one can find an outlet for his human aspirations and at the same time enjoy a great sense of security without fear of unemployment, inflation, pollution, exorbitant medical expenses, racial oppression, inability to afford education.

One great concern does weigh upon the people: the fear of renewed warfare with South Korea and the U.S. Korea is a divided nation due to the politics of the Cold War and continuing U.S. imperialism. More than 40,000 American soldiers are in South Korea with additional massive air support including nuclear weapons. At any time this could spell destruction of all that socialist Korea has worked so hard to build. Time and again the people we talked with asked us to work for the removal of American soldiers from Korea so that Koreans can work out their own problems.

Remembering the enormous destruction wrought by U.S. military power in Korea during the 1950's and the more recent horrors inflicted upon the Vietnamese people, could we do any less for Koreans and for ourselves?

Confessions of a GI in South Korea

The following story is derived from my personal experience as a GI in South Korea during the past 8 months. My conscience forces me to tell the story so that my people in the U.S. and people of the whole world may know what we are doing in South Korea.

There are about 40 U.S. military bases in South Korea and the place looks like an armed camp with U.S. hardware from the M-16 to tactical nuclear weapons. There are 44,000 U.S. soldiers under the U.N., U.S. and South Korea flag. And the commander of U.S. forces in Korea commands also 650,000 South Korean regular troops as well.

Life for the GI is relatively easy. When he gets up in the morning, the houseboy comes in and makes his bed, sweeps the floor, and takes away his laundry and dirty boots—he feels like a master and very soon behaves like one. If he is not in the field, he goes to classes, and listens to the same thing over and over again.

After 5 p.m. GIs go down to the base village where night clubs and hundreds of Korean girls are waiting to earn dollars. Here, they relieve their tension and boredom, and go back to the base in a drunken stupor at midnight which is the Korean curfew time. Ninety percent of these men are addicted to alcohol or drugs.

Being an infantry man, I am in the field very often. On a chilly, dark, and windy night with rain falling lightly, we were camping on a mountain. About 11 p.m. I got up for the guard duty and as I stood in that darkness, I saw shadows moving on the hill and went up to investigate. To my surprise, there were four young Korean girls and two Mamasans* who were in charge of the girls. One girl was crying softly, the others squatting in a circle to avoid the cold wind. I asked what they were doing, and the wicked Mamasan told me that it was better to make money bringing girls here rather than staying in the village. From then on, I got used to seeing Korean women wandering around the field or mountain at night—their choice was either starvation or selling their bodies.

Another miserable scene, which is common and that I see whenever I go out for field training is the small Korean kids, numbering tens of thousands, who follow GIs to pick up brass, empty shells, or just to get some scraps of left over food GIs have discarded. Most often the GIs as well as the company commander with stick in hand chase away the kids, and the scene reminds me of a kind of warfare going on between them.

Obviously, most GIs look down on Koreans and often call them "dinks" or "charlie chinks," and so on. The army never gave me a class in Korean customs or how GIs should behave. I don't know if that is true of all GIs. To most though, Koreans are considered inferior and able to serve only as servants.

Thus, the U.S. force in South Korea can hardly be described as a peace-keeping force or the defender of the Korean people as U.S. imperialism tells it; rather it is an accupying, oppressive force that rampages over the Korean land and the people.

The picture I've given is, of course, not the entire one of the Korean people and Americans in South Korea. The rich Korean bourgeoisie, corrupt officials, generals along with American businessmen, military officers, and their dependents live in special districts of Seoul. They live in giant houses and drive foreign imported luxurious cars. They are the ones who are making fabulous money out of black market operations in Seoul.

However, they are isolated from the Korean masses and fearful of social revolution. That's why Park rules South Korea with terror and a spy system while he keeps begging U.S. forces to stay in South Korea for internal stabilization as well as to earn the dollars that come along with GIs.

* Mamasan is a middle-aged Korean woman who follows GIs to the field carrying Coca Cola and cookies to sell.

KOREANS IN JAPAN (II)*

By PAK JOONG HO

Modern Japanese history shows that reactionary governments and administrations of oppression against the people have always led to aggression against Korea and the oppression of its people.

Following the annexation of Korea in 1910, Japanese imperialists forbade the use of their mother tongue, forced them to assume Japanese names as part of the imperialist program of "imperial nationalization" of the Koreans. The Koreans were forced to work under poor conditions both in Korea and Japan.

Following the defeat of Japan in World War II, United States occupation forces did not regard the two million Koreans in Japan as "Korean nationals." Nor did it regard them as the people of an allied or neutral country. The Koreans were treated as "an enemy nation" and were subjected to a new version (U.S. imperialist) of a policy of discrimination and oppression.

After the San Francisco Japanese-U.S. treaty was signed in 1952, the Japanese government took legislative measures to permit the Koreans to remain in Japan, but took over the system of rule of U.S. occupation forces. The Koreans were left subject to the regulations of the former U.S. occupying troops.

The policy of oppression has taken on more outright and more hostile proportions in regard to Korean residents in Japan ever since the treaty was signed between Japan and South Korea in 1965, to give recognition to the "Republic of Korea" (Seoul) as the only legitimate government of Korea, thus opening the way for "Japan-ROK Union" with South Korea placed under U.S. control.

This is carried out despite the fact that hundreds of thousands of Korean residents in Japan are against the reactionary regime in South Korea and are sympathizers and loyal supporters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Japanese government has been trying for years to force Korean residents in Japan to take out the nationality of "Republic of Korea." It has stepped up the policy of discrimination by trying to separate the Koreans in Japan from the people of their fatherland and they are in the process of trying to pass discriminatory leg-devoted to an immigration-emigration bill now

The next article, No. 3, in this series will be devoted to a immigration-emigration bill now before the Diet in Japan.

Editors, Korea Focus.

INTRODUCTION

Has militarism revived in Japan and what do the Japanese think about foreign countries? This is, I think, one of the most interesting points to foreigners.

If and when you want to know about the Japanese Government and its people, you may read publications about them or visit here to look into their economic power, history, culture, customs and etc. That's all right in itself.

But why don't you try to probe into the situation of Koreans in Japan? Here is one of the keys in understanding the Japanese ruling class way of thinking about foreigners.

According to a recent issue of the *Asahi Shinbun*, one of the most influential Japanese papers, a young German movie director came to Japan to make a film on Japan.

While he was talking with many Japanese to find what are the characteristic aspects of Japan, he was impressed by their common tendency.

Most of them say that they want to trip to Europe—England, France, Germany. . . . But few of them want to go to Korea. He first thought Korea is far away from this country.

Pak Joong Ho was born in Muroran City, Hokkaido, Japan, in 1935. Majored in the International Affairs course, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, between 1956 and 1960. Engaged in introduction of Korean affairs to foreign countries since 1961.

*** The first article in this series appeared in *Korea Focus*, Vol. II, No. 2 (1973).**

To his surprise, however, Korea was the country nearest Japan. He also heard about Japanese prejudice and discrimination against Koreans in Japan, numbering as many as 600,000*

He tried to understand what Korea means to Japanese. Three months later, he completed a movie on Japan entitled "Bill on Emigration and Immigration Control Law" which deals mainly with Koreans in Japan.

I believe he was quite right in doing so. Why?

The best answer is the following words spoken by a Japanese in his book "Questions on Koreans in Japan."

". . . The presence of Koreans in Japan itself is a mirror most correctly reflecting the Japanese and a 'litmus paper' examining their way of thinking."

But I think you have heard no such case, and you believe there cannot or should not be such inhuman and anachronistic practice on this globe.

As is well known, the Declaration of Human Rights defines, among others the freedom of travel to the homeland.

Even a quarter of a century after the publication of this Declaration, however, Koreans living in Japan are undergoing humiliation and maltreatment which contravenes the spirit of the Declaration.

Most of them are prohibited from traveling to their homeland or foreign countries only because their nationality is "DPR of Korea."**

Of course their fatherland is "Korea" which is divided into two parts, the North and South: One is "Democratic People's Republic of Korea" (North Korea) and the other "Republic of Korea" (South Korea).

This fact shows that every Korean in Japan has either of the two nationalities, despite there are four kinds of ideological tendencies among them—pro-Pyongyang, pro-Seoul, neutral-standing and Japanese-minded. "Japanese-minded Koreans" mean persons who try in vain to disguise themselves as Japanese, using Japanese names in order to escape from national discrimination against them which is peculiar and inherent in Japan.

But, Koreans in Japan, irrespective of differences of political and ideological tendencies, are all deprived of human rights and freedom due to foreign citizens here.

They are denied freedoms—freedom of learning, freedom of making a living, freedom of travel to the homeland and foreign countries.

What plunged Koreans in Japan into such a miserable situation, and who are responsible for it?

Why So many Koreans in Japan?

In 1883, the year of opening of Inchon Port to overseas trade, the number of Koreans in

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* The three capitalist countries with the largest number of Korean residents are Japan, 600,000, U.S.A. 150,000 and West Germany 12,000. The DPRK refers to the Korean residents in Japan as public citizens.

** In a cablegram sent December 17, 1970 to the government of Japan, Yongjeung Kim, President of the Korean Affairs Institute of the U.S.A., protested Japan's refusal to repatriate Koreans in Japan and requested the Japanese government to take immediate steps to remedy the situation. The following is the statement:

As a Korean exile from the colonial rule of Imperial Japan I have been fighting for freedom and justice for my countrymen for many years. The Korean Affairs Institute—which I founded in 1943 as a non-profit, nonpartisan organization—devotes itself to studying ways and means of freeing the Korean nation from foreign domination. . . .

Believing in the democratic principle of tolerance I have earnestly endeavored to overlook the cruelty of Japan's colonial rule since its removal from Korea, and have been consistently advocating the establishment of good-neighbor relations among the Asian nations.

Your Excellency, I trust it is not presumptuous for me to point out to you that it would be to Japan's lasting interest to deal with Korea as a whole, and not to take sides with one part against the other. Because of U.S. influence Japan established diplomatic relations with the South Korea regime. However, I feel Japan has to deal with the northern half of the country as well. Unless your Government treats these etwo component parts of the homogeneous Korean nation equally until it is reunited, there will be inevitable trouble and possible disaster.

I am sure Your Excellency is aware that most of the Koreans now in Japan—forced laborers brought in by the Imperial Government during World War II, and their off-spring—are poor and suffer from civil and social discrimination. Under these circumstances your Government should welcome the opportunity to let them leave Japan to go wherever they choose. But I have been reliably informed that in response to the demands of the south Korea regime the applications of about 16,000 Koreans who want to repatriate to north Korea are being held up by your authorities. It is difficult for me to believe that your Government would deny the Koreans these rights.

My concern is not whether the Koreans in Japan go north or south, but that their rights be respected. Certainly they should not be treated as chattels of the Park regime in the south.

In the name of simple justice I earnestly request that your Government honor the rights of Koreans by taking immediate steps to facilitate the departure of those Koreans who desire to leave Japan regardless of their destination.

Koreans in Japan demonstrate in defense of their rights.

Japan was only 16. This number did not change drastically until the 1910's—155 in 1897 and 790 in 1908, the year preceding the "annexation" of Korea by Japan.

The Koreans who came over to Japan in those days were mostly sons and daughters of the feudal nobility and landed aristocrats. They came mainly to study here.

The following Table 1 shows the yearly increase the number of Koreans in Japan:

Table 1

Year	*Number of Koreans*
1911	2,527
1913	3,635
1915	3,989
1917	14,501
1918	22,262
1920	30,175
1925	133,710
1930	298,091
1936	690,501
1941	1,469,230
1944	1,936,843
1945	2,057,944

(Statistics by the Japanese Ministry of Home Affairs)

Why did the number of Koreans in Japan drastically increase between the 1910's and 1920's?

During this period, the Japanese colonial rule was firmly established in Korea.

During 1910-1918, the Japanese colonialists plundered Korean peasants and placed vast lands under their control.

They started "land investigation" to determine the ownership of lands, and forcibly pillaged the lands whose ownership was uncertain. Further, a modern land tax system was imposed on the Korean farmers as a result of the "land investigation."

Land came to be bought and sold freely, with the result that Korean farmers were rapidly turned into proletarians.

Meanwhile, Japanese monopoly capital amassed colossal sums of profits during World War I and accumulated vast amounts of capital.

Japan entered the stage of rapid industrial development, concentrating its efforts on the build-up of heavy industries.

The Japanese imperialists began full-scale capital investment in Korea to develop it as a supply base of industrial raw materials.

Thus, favorable conditions have been created for Japanese monopoly capital to import cheap labor power from Korea in order to cover manpower shortage and to maintain the low-wage policy at home.

Koreans supplied cheap labor power for Japanese monopoly capital and Japanese enterprisers, who could utilize them to maintain the wages of Japanese workers at lowe levels.

The rush of Koreans to Japan during this period and later on is completely different from the visit of Koreans to Japan for the preceding years. It was the travel of the plundered to the plundering country where only hard labor for lowest wages, contempt and discrimination were waiting for them.

The following folk song, very popular among the Korean people around that time, is very indicative of the situation of Koreans.

What is the use of grudging
'cause homelessness is no wonder
In this stateless land.

The ferry is for the hell,*
Boarding only passengers
With one-way tickets.

(From a collection of Korean folk songs)

The world economic crisis beginning in 1929 plunged into an acute depression the Japanese economy which had been plagued by a chronic crisis.**

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* The ferry was the ferryboat service between Pusan of Korea and Shimonoseki of Japan which was the main route for Koreans to come to Japan.

** The earthquake of September 1923 was the greatest natural disaster in Japanese history. Nearly the whole of Tokyo and Yokohama were destroyed. Telephone and telegraph wires were broken, and the population was in a state of extreme tension.

After the earthquake, Japan went into a pathological state of fanatical terrorism, as sometimes happens there, and carried out a pogrom against the Koreans. Six thousand Koreans living in Japan were massacred, including a thousand students, while six hundred Chinese were also killed.

The reason is not difficult to explain. Japan was in the throes of a postwar economic crisis. When the earthquake came, the ruling class feared a new uprising comparable to the great rice riots of 1918 which would involve, not only the peasantry, but the factory workers whose livelihood had been destroyed by the disaster. Hence they quickly organized terrorist action against a minority in order to forestall such an uprising and frighten the Japanese people themselves. The government tried to divert the wrath of the people away from itself and to distract their attention.

On September 3 the government authorized a broad-

In order to drive out of this depression, the Japanese militarists launched on their long-cherished invasion of China.

The war against "Manchuria" (the North-Eastern district of China), was the first step taken by the Japanese militarists toward their long-range and full-scale aggressive policy.

During this period, the Japanese militarists made frantic efforts to turn Korea into their military base.

As a result, the Korean people were forced to suffer increased oppression and intensified exploitation by the Japanese imperialists. More and more Korean peasants were deprived of their land and turned into proletarians, leavin their villages individually or in groups in search of jobs in cities.

Surplus labor power created in the rural areas provided an ample supply source of labor for Japanese monopoly capital.

In July, 1937, the Japanese government decided on a plan to import Korean workers en masse, and issued instructions through both the Vice-Ministers of Home Affairs and of Public Welfare concerning the recruitment of Korean workers.

In September the same year, the Government-General of Korea issued the instruction of its superintendent general of administrative affairs on the "recruitment of Korean workers and their passage to Japan."

After the issue of this instruction, coal and metal mine operators, construction companies, etc., were permitted to recruit Korean laborers in areas designated by the Government-General. Korean laborers recruited in this way were brought to Japan en masse.

After the start of the Pacific War, the shortage of labor power was so acute in Japan that, in November of 1941, the Japanese Government worked out plans to import Korean laborers into Japan more systematically and decided on "an outline program for induction of Korean laborers into Japan" and "detailed enforcement measures and procedures."

In accordance with these measures and plans, the Government-General of Korea drew up concrete plans for the purpose.

Under the newly adopted system, which was called the "Government Recommendation System," the Government-General made its local administrative bodies to recruit certain numbers of Korean workers.

After 1939, particularly during the Pacific War, large numbers of Korean laborers were recruited as "labor conscripts" according to the "National Mobilization Program" and were brought to Japan.

The number of Koreans in Japan, which stood at 961,591 in 1939, increased to some 2 million in 1945, the year of liberation.

This means that nearly 1.5 million Korean laborers were brought to Japan against their will during a period of about five years from 1940.

Then, what were the living conditions of Korean in Japan in prewar years?

Table 2 shows the results of a survey conducted by the Home Ministry in 1934, of Koreans in Japan according to their occupations.

This table shows that most of the Koreans in Japan were either laborers or jobless persons and that there are few middle class people such as salaried men among Koreans, not to mention capitalistic enterprisers. There were very few Korean technicians employed at larger enterprises, and most of them had to engage in manual labor at dangerous, unsanitary work places.

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cast to the people by the chief of police in Tokyo, warning that Korean anarchists and nationalists, in cooperation with Japanese anarchists, were burning houses, killing people, and stealing money and property. The people were asked to "use all necessary measures" to protect themselves and their property. This announcement was posted in all public places. It was a lie, and the majority of the people did not know what to think. But the reactionaries were already secretly mobilized in squads of twenty to one hundred and lost no time in starting the massacre, using knives, bamboo poles, swords, hammers and scythes.

Many Koreans were put to death by slow torture with bamboo stakes, while their torturers stood around and applauded. Young girl students and women were tortured with bamboo spikes, then tossed up and down on blankets by the men until they died. If a Korean were found on a train, he was thrown off when the engine was moving at high speed. In Tokyo, Koreans were asked to come to military headquarters for protection. *Eight hundred went, and every one of them was killed inside the headquarters.*

The deaths occurred mostly in Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya—the industrial centers of unrest. On September 5, the Tokyo government ordered that the killing stop and that all Koreans must be protected by the police. They then deported about a hundred thousand to Korea.

* Pp. 94, 95, *Song of Ariran,* Nym Wales and Kim San (Editor's note).

Table 2

Occupation	*No. of persons*	*Percentage*
Amusement enterprises	1,040	0.2
Commerce, including peddlers	26,745	5.5
Agriculture, mostly tenant farmers	2,586	0.5
Fishery	266	0.05
Workers	258,929	48.1
Students	6,093	1.1
Primary school pupils	32,243	5.9
Entertainment	5,055	0.9
Other gainfully engaged persons	10,740	2.0
Sojourners	2,365	0.4
Unemployed	191,359	35.6
Total	527,421	100.0

In August of 1945 Korea was liberated from the 36-year Japanese colonial rule. Koreans in Japan became overseas citizens of an independent state. They should have ensured rights due to foreigners in Japan.

The situation of Koreans in Japan, however, was far from "improved" even after the end of the Pacific War.

"Let's go home!" This was the unanimous desire in the minds of all the Koreans living here. This desire was reflected in the fact that every day Koreans numbering 5,000-10,000 flocked to Shimonoseki Port in the days immediately following Japan's surrender.

Mass repatriation of Koreans started two months following liberation.

Koreans, however, had to return home on their own. This was in spite of the fact that the Japanese Government was obligated to return them to their home country, since they had been forcibly brought here.

The number of Koreans, who crossed the Hyunai Straits* to their homeland during five or six months following Japan's surrender, is estimated at 1,400,000.

Later, no Koreans were permitted to return home without permission by the Occupation Army headquarters.

Because of these restrictive measures, only about 17,00 Koreans returned to South Korea between 1947 and 1950.

Even this small-scale repatriation work was completely suspended after the outbreak of the Korean War.

Repatriates to the liberated Korea eventually totaled about 1,440,000 (351 to the northern half) between 1945 and 1950.

How Do They Get Along

The living conditions of Koreans in Japan are one of the most important aspects in correctly understanding their situation.

Japanese corporations and enterprises, large or small, shut out Koreans from jobs only because of their Korean nationality, though they are loudly voicing keen shortage of labor force.

Recently a Korean youth applied for entrance to a Japanese large enterprise.

He wrote down his Japanese name (Arai) in his resume instead of his Korean name (Pak).

(I personally oppose the use of Japanese names by Koreans in Japan, because it is one of the vetiges of the Japanese colonial rule. At the time of their colonial rule in Korea, the Japanese militarists imposed on Koreans the use of Japanese names.)

Many Koreans are using Japanese names with or without ache of conscience. Especially, young Japanese-born Koreans without national education are afraid of using their own Korean names, disguising themselves as Japanese. They are not so much informed of their homeland as to be proud of it.

Pak successfully took the entrance examination. But later his Korean nationality was known to the enterprise staff, who withdrew his admission into the company.

According to the alien registration conducted by the Japanese Government, the occupations of Koreans in Japan are classified as in Table 3.

* The straits between the southern part of Korea and that of Japan.

Table 3

Kinds of Occupation Classified According to Alien Registration by Japanese Government (as of April, 1969)

Engineer	246	Monotonous labour	25,864
Teacher	1,008	Restaurant	1,056
Medical man	543	Barber & beauty parlor	1,002
Religionist	255	Amusement	929
Other specialist	1,447	Other service trade	3,638
Managerial staff	4,732	Driver	11,805
Office clerk	14,530	Man of arts	524
Foreign trader	207	Novelists and other authors	99
Scrap iron peddler	7,807	Journalist	151
Other peddlers	23,437	Scientist	78
Agriculture & Forestry	5,333	Housewife	900
Fishery	477	Pupil & student	9,209
Mining	673	Unemployed	319,517
Transportation & Communications	1,200	Impossible to be classified	685
Construction	8,701	No answer	123,965
Other skilled labourers	33,700	Total	603,712

Later, the headquarters of Gen. Douglas MacArthur and the Japanese Government imposed on would-be repatriates conditions that made them hesitate to return home.

According to a memorandum, dated Sept. 22, 1945, of the "Occupation Army" headquarters, "concerning the control over the export and import of gold, silver, negotiable securities and financial bonds," Koreans desiring to return home were permitted to take with them luggage weighing only 250 pounds and a sum less than $1,000 in cash. In other words, Koreans in Japan had to leave Japan, taking with them virtually almost nothing, after many years of suffering and national humiliation.

The number of Koreans in Japan desiring to return home sharply declined after the announcement of this memorandum. Another factor responsible for the sharp decline was the spiralling inflation and the high cost of living in South Korea.

Repatriates to the southern half were screened by prefectural governors and only those who were given certificates by them were permitted to go home. In this way, a small number of Koreans in Japan continued to trickle from Sasebo Port in Kyushu until repatriation even to South Korea was temporarily suspended in September of 1947 by order of Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

The percentage of working people for the total Korean population in Japan is about 25 per cent as against 50 per cent for Japanese people.

The above-mentioned figures show that 75 per cent of the entire Korean citizens in Japan unemployed or underemployed.

Compare this figure with that of the pre-liberation year 1934. You will be surprised to find that the situation of Koreans in Japan, overseas citizens, are no better than what they were when they were people of the colonized land.

Witness to Chauvinism

First, read the fololwing words by four Korean youths who were born in Japan, each in a different situation.

The following is a contribution of a Korean student of Japanese "Amagasaki Technical High School" to the Nov. 20, 1969 issue of its school bulletin "Amako Journal." He used his Korean name (Kim So Il) in school. This was written when he was in the third-year grade. Amagasaki is located near Osaka, second largest city of Japan.

I am a "Japanese-born" Korean.

My parents were born in Korea and came over here to Japan.

Why they came to this country? It is very clear: They could not eke out a living in that land. In short, they could not "live on" there.

I hear both of them are of poor tenant origin. . . .

Their living conditions were extremely difficult here, too.

When he was young, father gained school expenses even by delivering newspaper and milk in the morning and feeding cows in the afternoon.

Even by doing so he could not afford to continue to learn in school. He left a middle school. . . . And he began to lead a poor but prodigal life—liquor, tobacco, sex, gambles and etc.

Later he married mother, but did not change his way of life.

While father did as he liked, mother was most miserable. When I was a child, she eked out a living by gathering scrap iron. She sometimes brewed and sold illegal unrefined *sake*.

We could not but rely on mother alone.

She is illiterate. But she is the most wonderful woman to us on this globe!

I hate Japanese who have looked down on and maltreated this wonderful mother. I thought they would never be forgiven. I wish I could kill them. . . .

The Japanese must consider their discrimination against Koreans.

If and when they realize that it is them who discriminate Koreans, they'll be able to join us in fighting against the present Japanese rulers.

I never forgive discriminators!

I never forgive those who repressed father, mother, brothers and Koreans in Japan!

In Oct., 1970, a student of Waseda University, one of the noted Japanese private universities in Tokyo, burned himself to death. He was 24 years old.

In June, 1955, when he was nine, his family was naturalized as Japanese from Korean birth.

Japanese newspapers and other publications sensationally reported about reasons for his death—nationality, economic backruptcy, suspicion of Christianity (he was a Christian), etc.

If you read the following words from a collection of his writings, you will clearly understand that naturalization of his family decided this young man's future destiny, finally leading to suicide.

". . . I wish I had not been born in this country. I wish I could live in Korea, my homeland."

"Neighborhood's discriminative attitude toward me since I was a child formed antagonism and hatred in my mind. . . ."

"After experiencing many hardships, my parents gained citizenship of this country. We lawfully became Japanese. But real equal rights are not ensured only by law.

"If I had been older than nine, I would have denied naturalization.

Table 4

Percentage of Occupation

Occupation	*Apr. '64*		*Apr. 69*	
	Number	*Percentage*	*Number*	*Percentage*
Specialist	2,736	1.9	4,351	2.8
Managerial staff	5,866	4.2	4,732	3.2
Office clerk	9,575	6.8	14,530	9.7
Peddler	29,905	21.3	31,446	20.9
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishery	8,282	5.9	5,810	3.9
Mining	1,155	0.8	673	0.4
Transportation & Communications	9,891	7.0	13,005	8.7
Construction, skilled worker and monotonous labour	68,296	48.5	68,265	45.5
Service trade	4,846	3.4	6,625	4.4
Impossible to be classified	162	0.1	685	0.5
Working Population	140,714	100.0	150,122	100.0
Unemployed	437,853	—	435,590	—
Total	578,572		603,712	

(Note: "Specialist" includes engineer, teacher, medical man, religionist, man of arts, novelist and other authors, journalist, scientist and other specialists; "transportation and communications" includes driver; "unemployed" includes housewife and pupil and student.)

"My parents say it was for our own sake . . . to remove handicaps in entering schools or companies. How could they abandon their Korean nationality only for this purpose? . . .

". . . I could not connive at my illogical existence as 'semi-Japanese.'

"Once I cherished a great ideal—to devote my whole life to conquering the prejudice of this nation against us Koreans and establishing true reconciliation and friendship between the two peoples. But many obstacles ahead of me! Once I was shocked to hear the words 'Koreans are dirty and shrewd'—the words spoken by my most trusted schoolmate who boasts of himself as 'humanist.'

"Father and mother, and even brothers and sisters say it is wise to cover our national origin.

"But I did not hesitate to speak up my national origin when I thought it necessary. Then merry talks suddenly became chilled and I lost friends and even love.

"The greatest concern at my boyhod was poverty and national destiny.

"I strongly desired to live as a Korean rather than to live as a 'semi-Japanese.' . . ."

"I am neither a Japanese, nor a Korean. I am a homeless person. . . ."

"Where should I seek for my resting place?!"

The following are excerpts from a collection of impressions of students of Korean national schools* in Japan who came from Japanese schools.

". . . I had an unforgetable bitter experience in a Japanese school. It was during a lesson of civic course.

"Our teacher referred to homeland, saying 'Your homeland is Japan. You know your domicile of origin, don't you? Those who can name it, raise your hand.'

"Of course I knew my domicile of origin. But I didn't raise my hand. Because I feared he might point to me, if I raised my hand. I was unhappy. . . . But I could not speak up the word of 'Korea' nor could I say that I am 'Korean.'"

(A girl student, first grade of a Korean high school)

". . . Why does the mother tongue live so stubbornly in my mind, I wonder. I learned our mother tongue and history, which helped me understand our nation and have a strong admiration for the fatherland I have never visited. Now I am firmly determined to become a good Korean. I am not what I was. . . ."

(A boy student, second grade of the same school)

After having read the words of four Korean youths, we keenly realize, among other things, the importance of national education in a foreign country.

Koreans in Japan number 610,751 (as of May, 1971), according to the statistics released by the Immigration Control Bureau of the Japanese Ministry of Justice.

Table 5

Population of Koreans in Japan Classified by Age (as of Apr., 1969)

Age	*Male*	*Female*
0—4	31,230	29,139
5—9	29,323	27,848
10—14	31,001	29,122
15—19	36,424	34,455
20—24	34,747	33,103
25—29	28,863	28,150
30—34	23,156	21,762
35—39	17,486	15,539
40—44	18,558	14,217
45—49	22,400	13,987
50—54	16,630	10,238
55—59	13,249	8,724
60—64	9,663	6,471
65—69	5,598	3,973
70—74	2,906	2,298
75—79	1,026	1,151
Over 80	412	71
Unknown	6	5

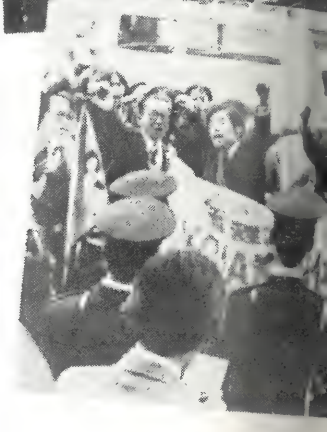
*Because of discrimination practiced against children of Korean residents in Japan, the 600,000 Koreans have established their own system of education for their children.

There are today dozens of schools in modern, comfortable new school structures accommodating thousands of Korean children of all ages, including the Korean University, accommodating close to 1,000 students.

A fascinating aspect of this devotion to education, and also an expression of national sentiment, is the financing of education for the children of some 600,000 Koreans residents in Japan. The North Korean budget for 1967-68 allots over 800 million yen in Japanese currency (about 3.5 million U.S. dollars) in financial subsidies to Korean pupils and students in Japan; over the past years the equivalent of over 22 million U.S. dollars has been remitted for this purpose, with no possible guarantees that any of the beneficiaries will even return to Korea, let alone to North Korea, to pay back with their acquired knowledge this highly original form of investment.

Pp. 176, 177, Burchett, *Again Korea* (Editor's note).

KOREANS ON THE



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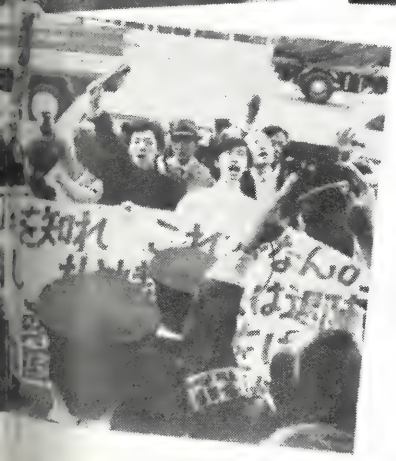


Park Chung Hee dictatorship and for a United Korea!

As is shown in Table 5, those under 25, regarded as born after 1945, the year of liberation, total 316,392, or more than half of the entire Korean population in Japan.

Those born and brought up in Japan are estimated at 70 per cent of the entire population.

And a surprising 75 percent of the schoolable children are now studying in Japanese schools as against 25 percent in Korean independent schools in Japan.

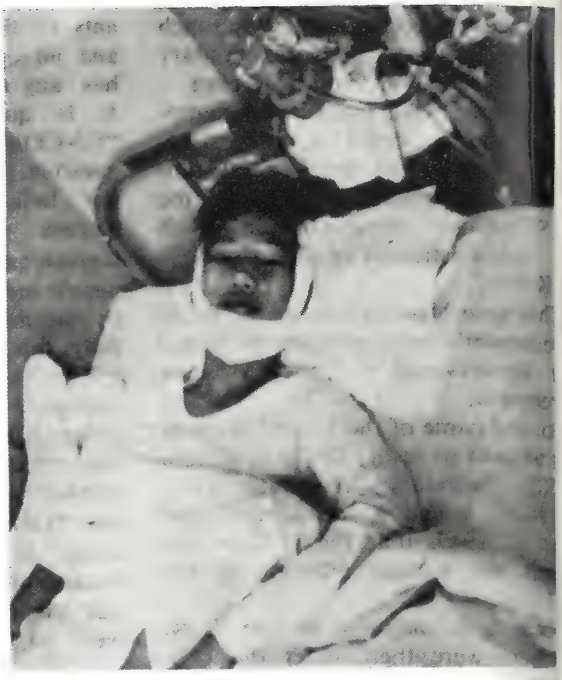
In Japanese schools they teach little about good qualities of Korea—history, geography, mother tongue, etc. Neighbors usually speak ill of Koreans. Even good-minded Japanese are intentionally silent about Koreans in Japan.

As a result, Korean children in Japan are not educated to be proud of their nation. This is a serious problem.*

But the Japanese successive governments have done nothing at all to help improve the situation of Koreans in Japan.

This is proof that they have been far from sincerely repenting of the past Japanese colonial rule in Korea and suppression of Korean people.

Japanese publications do not report on the necessity and superiority of Korean national education to help send Korean children to Korean schools here.



A Korean high school student was seriously injured when attacked by Japanese in Tokyo.

These circumstances create an ideological atmosphere which hampers education of Korean children in national schools in Japan.

Still worse, some rightist organizations are fanning up antagonism against Korean schools.

According to a Korean language daily of Oct. 25 this year during the four days between Oct. 18 and 22, Japanese students committed violence against students of Korean national schools on 12 occasions.

The paper reports that the Japanese students injured Korean students, calling out "You damned Koreans!"

This violence against students of Korean schools totals as many as 131 between Nov. 1962 and June 1970. Such violence increases year by year.

It is noteworthy that that violence was characterized by students' chauvinistic ideas.

While attacking Korean students, they shouted:

"Korean students, go back home! Don't lord it over in a foreign land!" (In a case at Ikebukuro, Tokyo.)

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*"I'm now hunting down Koreans!" (At Shinjuku, Tokyo)

What is the general response of Japanese to these incidents. Some of them go so far as to support them. Most of them are quite indifferent, which is caused by their own contempt, prejudice against the indifference to "Korea."

Korean children in Japan—if they go to Japanese school, they are exposed to the danger of national nihilism fostered by Japanese-style education and to humiliation by their Japanese schoolmates.

If they go to Korean schools, they are exposed to the danger of chauvinistic violence and elaborate alienation from the Japanese people.

This is the real situation of Korean citizens in Japan which accounts for about 94 percent of the foreigners resident in Japan.

Then who are most responsible for their miserable and intolerable situation in Japan?

The answer is: It is the Japanese rulers now stepping up militarism and, as a step for realization of their purpose, overtly and covertly fanning up suppression of Koreans in Japan and infusing national chauvinism into the Japanese people.

Militarism is always accompanied by chauvinism and suppression of other peoples.

By Angelo D'Angelo

Min Gwan Sik, the Educational Minister in Park's government, recently visited the Hanguk School in Tokyo and delivered an interesting speech at its management council. He said that as Education Minister he was satisfied with the endeavours being made by South Korean women at home and abroad to obtain foreign currency needed for economic construction. Particularly, it was reported that he extolled them by saying that "these kisaeng girls who have come to Japan in large numbers are working hard day and night selling their ——— and their patriotic devotion is highly praiseworthy."

The ciphered word is such that most would hesitate to utter it at a private gathering. So, because of this episode, Education Minister Min Gwan Sik has great notoriety among the South Koreans in Japan.

It is none other than Education Minister Min who is charged with the responsibility to disseminate the "correct view of value" proposed by Park's government.

Moreover, the South Korean women sent to Japan to "sell their ———" are issued passports as "missions of artists" by the South Korean government, and it is the Ministry of Education under Minister Min himself which identifies them as true "artists."

The recent issue of *Time* reported that in Seoul alone there are 1,500 prostitutes carrying the certificates to the effect that "the bearer is permitted to comfort foreign tourists in their rooms," and that South Korea is becoming a red-light district for Japan. It is said that the income through these prostitutes will amount to 120 million dollars in 1973. For the Park government which has a big headache with its red figures in international payments, prostitution is indispensable.

The Korean translation of this article was carried in the *Hanguk Ilbo*. But that part of the original which said such tourism for prostitution "is actively encouraged by the high-ranking officials of the ROK government including President Park Chung Hee" was deleted. It must have been very hard for them to put into print the fact that their President is a pimp.

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This year Japanese capital accounted for 99 percent of the total foreign investment in South Korea. Japan has far outstripped the United States in the total amount of investment.

Japanese industrialists who are now planning inroads in South Korea have an ambition to put it under their economic military domination. In Japan there is no more space and pollution has gone beyond the critical point. Also wages are high.

Why then, i sthe Park government bringing in Japanese industries even at the risk of being exposed to the damage of pollution? Isn't the Park regime rather inclined to consider the "presence" of Japanese capital as a military guarantee for the maintenance of its power? Once, while encouraging his officials negotiating for the introduction of General Motors into South Korea, President Park said, "If a big U.S. concern makes large investments, it will be as effective as having a U.S. infantry division in the Republic of Korea." Now, substitute "Japanese capital" for "big U.S. concern" and the "Japanese Self-Defense Force" for a "U.S. infantry division" and read it again.

Also notable is the statement reportedly made by Min Gi Sik, Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the South Korean National Assembly and former Army Chief of Staff.

Min was quoted by the press as saying, "If Japan won't help us, the Republic of Korea will crumble. I hope Japan will boldly decide to give us military aid; you should not regard ours as a foreign country."

According to an AP report, U.S. Undersecretary of Defense Clement spoke before Japan's leading industrialists on their visit to Washington at the invitation of *Time*, and requested Japan: (1) to give annual military aid of some 100 million dollars to South Korea and (2) to amend the current Constitution and open the way for the overseas dispatch of the Self-Defense Force.

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Rumor still has it that South Korea has asked Japan to form a military alliance with her. As evidence the *Nihonkeizai Shimbun* reported that the Japan Socialist Party had obtained a secret document concerning Japan's military aid to South Korea. The paper said that the secret document entitled "On Japan's Defense Policy" points out that Japan will provide South Korea with that which apparently cannot be considered military equipment (trucks, communication equipment, etc.) and that South Korea will increase its military expenditure with an additional income from them.

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According to an investigation

conducted by Seoul University's Medical College in 1967, 32 per cent of the householders in Seoul were jobless. The South Korean government's anti-inflation policy is, in the final analysis, to reduce the prices of agricultural produce.

In South Korea, the price of rice bought by the government has never exceeded the production cost of the peasants. Unable to subsist any longer the peasants inevitably abandon the farm land and flock to towns. In 1960 the population of Seoul was 2.5 million and in 1972 it stood at 6 million.

As of January 1970, South Korea's urban dwellers amounted to 41 per cent of the total population.

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South Korea worked out a bill on amendment to the law on "ROK army organization" at a cabinet meeting on September 14 and decided to integrate the marine corps into the navy and newly set up "the marine staff" in the navy.

The Park regime also revised the regulations for the enforcement of the law on establishment of the "homeland reserve defense forces" and reorganized the "homeland reserve forces" into "reserve forces for wartime mobilization" and "general reserve forces."

Such reorganization of the military system is part of the war preparations stepped up by the Park regime.

Crying for "building up strength" to "prevail over communism" they are reorganizing everything on a war footing and reinforcing the armed forces.

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The "U.S.-South Korea Economic Committee," embracing big U.S. corporations, was recently set up in the United States.

It is reported that the purpose of its formation is to "promote investments" in South Korea.

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The South Korean government closed down seven monthly magazines including *Nongwon* on September 5th by "cancelling their registration," according to a report from Seoul.

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This is part of the consistent attack on the press by the South Korean authorities intended to prevent the consequences of their misrule from being reflected in the press.

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The Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries was recently held in Algiers, the capital of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic, from Sept. 5 to 9.

The conference was attended by over 100 delegations which included heads of state and delegates of more than 80 countries.

The conference adopted 13 political resolutions including the "resolution on the problem of Korea."

In their speeches heads of state of a large number of countries and many delegates unanimously expressed full support to the struggle of the Korea people for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country.

Pointing out that the non-aligned countries should support the efforts bent by the Government of the DPRK and its people for the peaceful reunification of the country, they denounced the U.S. and Seoul authorities for "obstructing the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea."

The manoeuvres of Washington and Seoul to create "two Koreas" are aimed at laying an obstacle to reunification and perpetuating the division of Korea, the Conference pointed out.

They condemned the U.S. for "occupying South Korea still today under the U.N. flag" and demanded that all foreign troops be withdrawn from Korea at once and the so-called "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" be dissolved so that "the Korean people may shape their future on the principle of self-determination."

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Secretary of Defense Robert Schlesinger in a broadcast interview on August 26 prattled that U.S. troops would stay in South Korea pending the achievement of stable relations between North and South Korea.

Attempting to justify his argument, he mumbled that "the achievement of stable relations between North and South Korea was contingent on the presence of U.S. troops in South Korea."

This outburst of Schlesinger that intended to mislead world opinion reveals the hopeless position of Washington.

One cannot overlook that Schlesinger's statement, with the 28th United Nations General Assembly at hand was another example of the U.S. antiiipating a strong voice of delegates of many countries to the United Nations demanding it strip away the "U.N. forces" cover from Washington's forces occupying South Korea.

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A drawn-out crusade of Seoul's students against Park Chung Hee's fascist rule is in full swing, drawing widespread public support throughout South Korea.

In particular, student anger has been coupled with pent-up grievance and hatred for the outrage of arresting and expelling from school anti-Park students and murdering Prof. Choe Jong Gil of Seoul University (South oKrea's most prestigious university).

More than 1,500 students at the Normal College of Seoul University went on strike on Oct. 26 defying the police.

Earlier, on Oct. 25 students of the Commercial College of Seoul University staged a strike in protest against the expulsion of many students in connection with the "series of anti-Park demonstrations."

As of Oct. 26, five Colleges of Seoul University were on strike: commercial, normal, liberal arts and science, law and medical.

In the case of Prof. Choe Jong Gil, it was revealed on the 22nd that Park agents had arrested the Professor, curator of the Library of the Law College in Seoul University, on charges of "involvement in the demonstration of students" and murdered him after putting him through torture.

The General Student Council of Seoul University made a public statement protesting against the suppression by Park Chung Hee government.

The statement made the following demands upon the Park regime and university authorities:

1) The government should immediately release the students under detention;

2) Ensure campus autonomy:

3) Make public the truth of the case of Prof. Choe Jong Gil;

4) Guarantee freedom of speech; to build a constructive opinion for the nation;

5) The university authorities should cancel the penalties on students;

6) The university should give up the function as a tool for the execution of the policy of the government.

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Following is a short analysis of the South Korean Central Intelligency Agency:

The foremost job of the "Korean C.I.A." is to keep the South Korean population in line.

The Pentagon engineered the "military coup d'etat" in South Korea that got the Park Chung Hee regime to set up the "C.I.A." in June 1961.

Park made the C.I.A. a special body with unlimited rights and placed it under his direct control.

The C.I.A. exercises privileged rights and carries out internal and external espionage and shapes the domestic and foreign policies of the Park government.

"The Law on the Central Intelligence Agency" and the "Law on the National Security Council" set up by the Park regime stipulates that the C.I.A. obeys only the "President," immune to interference by anyone, The budget of the Central Intelligence Agency and the basis of its compilation are kept secret and it may refuse to submit materials for the national assembly's budget inspection.

The duties and tasks of the director of the Central Intelligence Agency have expanded unrestricted to an extent where he can supervise and control the intelligence and investigation activities of the army, police, prosecution, and administration departments.

The main role of the C.I.A. is to suppress the anti-government forces and seek the long-term office of Park Chung Hee.

The Korean C.I.A. is composed of 8 departments—personnel affairs, overseas and home intelligence, anti-Communist intelligence, security, psychological war, overseas operation, and the northern half affairs. Its consultative bodies are named "intelligence committee" and "personsel affairs committee" and it has branches in main cities and "detached officers," the picked agents, overseas.

The C.I.A.'s power covers not only South Korea but many foreign countries with a cobweb of special agents to shadow those who live there in exile, unable to endure life in South Korea.

The Japanese weekly journal *Shukangendai* said:

"In the South Korean embassy and consulates in Japan there are many special agents, including those of the C.I.A. under the name of consul, deputy consul and secretary. Agents are posted everywhere including within the South Korean companies and restaurants. There are more than 250 intelligence agents in the Kanto district alone."

The "Anti-Communist Law," "National Security Law" and "special law on punishing special crimes" were all enacted and revised by the C.I.A.

The C.I.A. rigged up the "Anti-Communist Law" in July 1961 whereby anyone who utters a word about North-South interchange and peaceful reunification is liable to penalty on charges of "benefiting the enemy."

The Japanese weekly journal *Shukangendai* also reported:

"The duty of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency is supposedly to take steps against 'spies' and undertake 'anti-communist' operations. But, in fact, it is the veiled body of the Park regime to suppress all those who wage anti-'government' movements on charge charges of being Communists."

The "C.I.A." has arrested, imprisoned and murdered on charges of "spying" numerous Koreans, among them Kim Jong Tae, Choe Yong Do and Kwon Jae Hyok who fought against the colonial rule of the U.S. and for the reunification of Korea.

Kim Jong Pil who was the director of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency in its early days admitted that the number of arrests of Koreans in four months after the May 16 "military coup" was 2.5 times that under the Chang Myon regime and 45 per cent of those jailed were executed.

In less than one month after the May 16 "military coup" the C.I.A. arrested and threw into jail more than 130,000 people.

The C.I.A. has closed by force over 940 progressive periodicals from the May 16 "military coup" to 1968.

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In 1974 the South Korean authorities intend to trade off, under the guise of "emigration," more South Koreans to foreign countries.

According to reports from Seoul, the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs of South Korea intends to send to foreign countries 30,000 South Koreans, far more than that of last year, and to obtain more foreign exchange by "emigrating" 900,000 persons till 1981.

The Ministry of Health and Social Affairs has its intention to conclude with countries in South America such as Brazil "emigration agreements" which are in negotiation for the emigration of peasants. In the first half of 1974 investigators will be sent to North America, South America and Australia to "grasp the possibility for group emigration."

This year the Labor Office of South Korea which undertook last year's "manpower export" of 7,600 persons is expected to undertake "manpower export" of more than 10,000 unemployed to foreign countries as miners, nurses, seamen, etc. The miners are to be sent to the Ruhr coal mine and other mines of of West Germany.

The South Korean authorities, after setting up the Emigration Department and the Emigration Committee, traded off nearly 100,-000 South Koreans under the pretext of "emigration," to more than 40 countries including the United States and Brazil during the last 10 years.

Emigration and manpower export is being undertaken by Seoul as "human traffic."

The South Korean authorities have made some $444,000,000 from "manpower exports" from 1963 to 1972.

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Prof. Sohn Powkey of Yonsei University in southern Korea claims to have found the oldest book ever printed with metal type. The professor asserted that the book is about three centuries older than

the Gutenberg Bible and consists of a collection of Chinese classic poems written by scholars of the Tang and Sung dynasties.

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In an article devoted to the 25th Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the DPRK, the Soviet newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossia* noted that the 25 years of diplomatic relations are "characterized by all-round cooperation, mutual support in international affairs, friendship based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism."

The paper declared that "the Korean people are conducting a struggle for the peaceful, independent unification of their country on democratic principles. This just struggle has the full support of the Soviet Union."

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According to reports from Seoul, southern Korea will become the second largest shipbuilding power in the world by the end of the 70's.

The Park regime intends to work closely with Japanese shipbuilding companies in constructing nine large scale shipyards on Koje Island, off the South Coast, including five shipyards capable of building 100 million tons of vessels per year.

The reports did not state what type of vessels the Park regime has in mind.

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Relics from the 5th century have been unearthed recently in Kyongju, Korea, according to Biologist Oh-Se-Jong.

Among the rare relics were damaged wooden combs, horn-shaped woodcrafts used as parts of a harness and ancient eggs.

The relics were found in lacquered vessels believed to have been used as ritual utensils during 57 B.C.

Dr. Se-Jong noted that the eggs were smaller than present-day eggs and that they show that poultry was an important part of farmers' life in Korea between the 4th and 6th centuries. He also said that it was quite unusual for egg shells some 15 centuries old to have survived to the present in such excellent condition.

Korean business tycoon and millionaire, Sun Myung Moon is currently on tour of some 21 American cities trying to build his "Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity."

The 53-year-old corporation head is also "minister" of his Church and claims to have special spiritual powers. His Unification Church was founded in Korea in 1954 and claims to have millions of members throughout the world.

The Rev. Sun Myung Moon owns an $850,000 estate in Tarrytown, N.Y. which he is using as a training center for hundreds of his followers brought in from Europe and Asia and a $600,000 home in Irvington, N.Y. for himself and his family.

Mr. Moon is the chairman of the board of several different corporations, including the Tong Wha Titanium Corp., the Tong Il Industry Company, and the Il Hwa Pharmaceutical Company. His religious empire includes the International Re-education Foundation in California, a "training center for the conscience," and the Freedom Leadership Foundation, formed to combat "Marxist thought in America."

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The Mitsubishi industrial conglomerate of Japan intends to invest in the construction of a huge petrochemical complex on South Korea's south coast.

The Park regime has been pushing for further foreign investment in South Korea and is reported to be greatly satisfied with the recent Mitsubishi deal.

In similar developments, the Seoul government has okayed the building of oil refineries along the south coast by five Japanese companies and a French company, the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles.

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A new underground subway system, one of the most modern in all of Asia, has been opened in Pyongyang, the capital of the DPRK, celebrating twenty-five years of socialist life.

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Ambassador Kwon Min Jun of the DPRK who arrived in New York City on September 13th as head of the DPRK permanent observer mission at the United Nations, will be the first DPRK resident diplomat in the USA since the formation of the DPRK.

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Recently, *Newsweek*'s Bernard Krisher visited Seoul and had an eyewitness view of the tactics of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA). The October 22 *Newsweek* reported: "Everywhere I went," cabled Krisher, "agents armed with walkie-talkies shadowed me. Koreans I had known for years suddenly cancelled interviews; others only spoke briefly—knowing that the longer they talked to me, the longer they would be grilled by the KCIA.

"To throw the spooks off balance, I used service elevators and switched taxis. I even chided the Vice Minister of Information jokingly that I deserved a more professional 'tail' than the young, bungling men who were watching me. He apologized. But the harassment continued."

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Anti-Park Chung Hee sentiment in South Korea, Japan and the U.S. is growing, spurred on by the abdication of Kim Dae Jung, a former South Korean "presidential candidate" and intensified by the latest series of Seoul student demonstrations.

Retired South Korean army officers carried out on October 12 an anti-Park demonstration in front of the headquarters of the United Nations in New York City, demanding the expulsion of agents of the South Korean "Central Intelligence Agency" from the U.S. who are persecuting resident South Koreans.

Demonstrating together with the retired army officers was Kim Chang Yong, former South Korean UN ambassador.

While carrying placards, the demonstrating South Koreans distributed anti-Park leaflets and demanded the prompt release of Kim Dae Jung.

Retired brigadier general Choe Sok Nam said that the demonstration was intended to appeal to the UN for help in the liberation of South Koreans from Park Chung Hee's tyranny.

In Tokyo on October 13 a rally of South Korean residents was held

at the Yomiuri Hall to rescue Kim Dae Jung and support the anti-dictatorship struggle of South Korean students, with over 2,000 people attending, expressing anger at the Park Chung Hee regime. After the meeting, they took to the streets, denouncing the Park regime.

The meeting was organized by the Japan headquarters of the National Congress for the Restoration of Democracy in South Korea and Promotion of Reunification (headquartered in the USA with Kim Dae Jung now under house arrest in Seaul as its leader).

On the South Korean scene, the spokesman of the Democratic Unification Party of South Korea made public statement opposing Park Chung Hee's suppression of the student movement.

Denouncing the South Korean authorities for their suppression of students of Seoul University the spokesman demanded "an end to the suppression by force of the demonstration" of students.

Recalling the Kwangju Student Movement which broke out against the Japanese dictatorship over 40 years ago, the spokesman stated: "It is still not too late. The ministry of education should stop using force at random to crack down upon campuses."

The "Seoul Students Council for Defence of Democracy," an underground organization of South Korean students, published "A Declaration on the Funeral of the South Korean Press" denouncing those men of the press who curry favor with the dictatorship.

The declaration said: "There is no democratic press in South Korea. It is a suffocating society without the press."

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The Catholic Archbishop of Seoul, Cardinal Kim Su Han, is known to be on the KCIA blacklist. His Christmas sermon on radio last year, containing critical comments on the regime, was cut off the air in mid-sentence. "There's no religious persecution here in the conventional sense," the Cardinal told *Newsweek*, "But if you practice a living faith, if you fight for justice, then you are arrested. That's religious persecution, isn't it?" he asked rhetorically.

The first U.S.-Korean Treaty was concluded in May 1882 and ratified by the U.S. Senate in February 1883.

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Since 1945 over 5 million Americans have passed through the military grind of U.S. foreign intervention.

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Wholesale prices in Southern Korea have risen 15 percent from a year earlier, according to reports from the Central Bank of Korea.

This comes at a time when the economic study by the Chase Manhattan Bank reveals that Korean cash wages are among the lowest anywhere with manufacturing workers averaging 77 cents a day.

Korea's wage scale is so low that even the voice of Korean capital, the Federation of Korean Industries (FKI) has been forced to release the results of their recent survey which places the wages of Korean skilled workers as the lowest in Southeast Asia.

In a related news story, the Korea Keyboard Ltd., formed by a New York company, Keyboard Training Inc., has a mass data-conversion service in operation in Seoul.

Keith Cousin, president of Keyboard Training, said the Korean company microfilms data such as insurance records in New York and flys it to Seoul where Korean workers enter the data on magnetic tape, which can be processed by computers.

Cousin classifies the Korean workers as "hard-working" and "productive" and notes that they earn much less than American workers for the same job.

Korea Keyboard pays its workers $480 a year for work that in the U.S. pays about $7,500, including fringe benefits.

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Korea was liberated from 36 years of Japanese colonial rule on August 15, 1945.

When Korea was liberated, the Korean people set up People's Committees, which were the organs of power, over the entire Korean peninsula.

But the Allied armies entered Korea and met at the 38th parallel and established it as a temporary demarcation line in order to disarm the defeated Japanese army.

On September 8, 1945, a little more than twenty days after the liberation of Korea, the U.S. army landed on the area south of the 38th parallel. The U.S. army had no sooner landed on South Korea than it proclaimed the enforcement of military government, acting as an occupation force.

The Proclamation issued at that time on the enforcement of Military Government reads in part:

". . . By virtue of the authority vested in me as Commander-in-Chief, the United States Army Forces, Pacific, I hereby establish military control over Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude and the inhabitants thereof . . .

"Persons will obey my orders issued under my authority. Acts of resistance to the occupying forces or any acts which may disturb public peace and safety will be punished severely . . ." (from Proclamation No. 1 by MacArthur).

Why did the U.S. army enter liberated Korea and enforce a military government?

All the subsequent historical facts furnish a clear-cut answer to this question.

With the enforcement of military government, the U.S. army, suppressed and dissolved the people's organs of power set up by the Korean people themselves.

Further, it blocked the 38th parallel like a border line and cut off traffic, transportation, communication and travel between the north and the south.

This is how the division of Korea originated.

The Foreign Ministers' Conference of the Soviet Union, the U.S. and the U.K. held in Moscow in December 1945 decided to "re-establish Korea as an independent state and develop the country on democratic principles" and, for this purpose, "set up a provisional democratic government" in Korea at an early date.

All the partisan forces of Korea welcomed the decision and tried to put it into practice.

But the U.S. Government refused to implement the decision which it itself had signed. Syngman Rhee, who had long since been trained

in the U.S. as its front man and several South Koreans who had served with the Japanese occupation forces, had organized a movement against the decision of the Three Foreign Ministers' Conference and work of the Soviet-U.S. Joint Commission.

According to the secret foreign relations documents on the Korean question made public by the U.S. State Department some years ago, former President Truman, in 1946, called Korea an "ideal battlefield which might decide all the American successes in Asia," and "asked for our stay in Korea for a sufficient period of time to fulfil our tasks and for appropriate personnel and enough funds secured for the fulfilment of the tasks" (from "American Foreign Relations, Far East, 1945").

All the ensuing actions by the State Department were geared for the purpose of realizing this aim.

In 1947 the Truman Administration unilaterally annulled the decision of the Moscow Three Foreign Ministers' Conference and took the Korean question to the United Nations.

It was a violation of the U.N. Charter to place the Korean question on the agenda of the U.N.

It was a violation of Article 107, Chapter XVII of the U.N. Charter which stipulates that the United Nations cannot discuss such questions as the Korean question whose way of disposal had already been defined as a result of the Second World War.

It was also a violation of Article 2, Paragraph 7 of the U.N. Charter which prohibits the discussion of domestic matters of any state.

This notwithstanding, the Truman Administration placed the Korean question on the agenda of the second session of the U.N. General Assembly and unilaterally was able to pass a "resolution" on dispatching the "United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea" and holding "U.N.-supervised elections" in Korea. This is how the history of the long-drawn discussion of the "Korean question" began in the U.N.

At that time, the majority of third world countries were not yet represented in the United Nations.

The resolution "passed" by the U.S. representative at the U.N. was done without the approval of the Korean people. Such being the case, the United States, in another violation of the U.N. Charter, called upon separate "elections" in the "possible area," that is, only in South Korea then under U.S. army occupation.

Thus, the United States conducted a separate election in South Korea on May 10, 1948, under an "election law" set up by the U.S. Military Government. That the so-called "free election" was held in an atmosphere of foreign occupation can be seen clearly from the reports dispatched by UPI correspondents in Seoul, which reads in part:

"American reconnaissance planes flew overhead . . . the police and specially appointed civilians, with the backing of U.S. troops, set up barricades at main points and intersections and guards were posted at each entrance of back alleys.

"Civilian guards were armed with axe handles, baseball bats and clubs, and the Korean guards with U.S. carbines. The atmosphere resembled that of a city under martial law" (South Korean paper *Kyonghyang Sinmun,* May 12, 1948).

The United States set up a separate South Korean regime headed by Syngman Rhee in August 1948 with the returns of the so-called "election."

The establishment of a separate South Korean "regime" by the United States meant that it had entered upon a policy of consolidating the division of Korea.

The fact that the United States had long wanted a separate regime in South Korea was disclosed by the following evidence:

According to confidential foreign relations documents on the Korean question published by the U.S. Department of State, in November and December 1946 Langdon, political advisor, and Hodge, Commanding General, of the Office of U.S. Military Government in South Korea, said in their respective telegram and letter to the U.S. Secretary of State that Syngman Rhee wanted the "abolition of the agreement of the Moscow Conference of the Three Foreign Ministers and the immediate independence of South Korea" and wanted "to become the head of a separate government of South Korea" ("American Foreign Relations," 1946. Far East).

The Korean people founded the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in September 1948 through general elections held in both areas of North and South Korea.

At the request of the newly-elected Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the Soviet Army completely withdrew from Korea by the end of 1948.

This created a more favorable condition for the Korean people to solve the Korean question themselves.

The U.S. army, however, had refused to pull out of South Korea and remains there to this day.

COMING SOON

The American - Korean Friendship and Information Center will soon publish ts first paperback book. Written by Prof. Fred Carrier, co-chairman of AKFIC and contributing editor of Korea Focus, it will be titled North Korean Journey — The Revolution Against Colonialism. A few of the chapter headings of the 200-page book are:

"The Struggle Against a Colonial Economy."

"Education for Socialism."

"A Society of Workers: Life in Pyongyang and Hambung."

Nationalism and Unification: Historical Perspective."

SOCIALISM IN ASIA

Emblem of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic

Emblem of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic

Emblem of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic

Emblem of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic

Emblem of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic

We have received a number of communications from students and scholars of Asian Studies Departments asking for information materials and source material dealing with Soviet Central Asia. In response to these requests we have solicited this article from a foreign journalist, William Pomeroy, who has recently spent four weeks travelling and researching in the five Central Asian Soviet Republics.

By WILLIAM J. POMEROY

The successes attained in Asia since World War II by the socialist republics in Korea, Vietnam and China, the continued growth of the socialist MongolianPeople's Republic and their impact on Asian affairs, have caused many people to lose sight of the fact that the first socialist republics in Asia had been established many years before the second world war and had reached a mature development by the beginning of World War II. Their revolutionary example had been by then a major influence upon Asia over two decades.

These socialist republics, in number, had developed in the Central Asian regions of the vast territory embraced by the Soviet Union. They are: Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia and Tajikistan.* Backward, seminomadic and feudal during the colonial rule of the Russian Tsar, with a tangle of oppressed nationalities, they had attained after the October Revolution of 1917 an industrialized, cul-

"The attitude of the Soviet Workers' and Peasants' Republic to the weak and hitherto oppressed nations is of very practical significance for the whole of Asia and for all the colonies of the world, for thousands and millions of people."

From V.I. Lenin's letter "To the Communists of Turkestan," November 1919

* The usual Soviet designation for the region embraced by these republics is "Central Asia and Kazakhstan," since the Kazakh Republic includes European or Russian areas. However, since the Kazakhs are a Central Asian people and the delineation of their boundaries figured prominently in the formation of these national republics, Kazakhstan in essential respects is an Asian state.

William J. Pomeroy, world renowned journalist, is the London correspondent of the *Daily World*.

He left Rochester, New York to fight in the U.S. Army during World War II where he met many members of the People's Anti-Japanese Army (Hukbalahap), the Communist-led guerilla movement that resisted the Japanese imperialist forces and struggled for a democratic Philippines.

Following the war, he returned to the Philippines, made contact with the Huks, who were then fighting to break the grip of the U.S. imperialists and their Filipino agents. He and his wife served ten years in jail for their anti-imperialists struggles. His wife, Celia Mariano, fought with the guerillas both against the Japanese and U.S. imperialism.

He is the author of the following books, all by International Publishers: *American Neo-Colonialism; Apartheid Axis; The Forest; Guerilla Warfare and Marxism; Half a Century of Socialism; Trail of Blame; An American Made Tragedy: Neo-Colonial Dictatorship in the Philippines.*

turally-advanced socialist society that pointed the way for all colonial countries to full liberation, to the solution of the national question, and to the by-passing of capitalism.

Tsarist conquest of Central Asia had occurred in the latter half of the 19th century, between 1864 and 1885. Previously, three large loosely organized Khantes had existed there: the Khiva Khanate, which was spread over what is now the northern part of Turkmenia and western areas of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan; the Bokhara Emirate, which embraced the southern part of present-day Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan; and the Kokand Khanate, which covered a large part of today's Kazakhstan, northern Uzbekistan and Kirghizia.

Mixed on these territories, the product of an historical maze of migration, invasion and empire-building that included Iranian, Greek, Turk, Arab and Mongol incursions, was a multiplicity of peoples—Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kara-Kalpaks, Turkmen, Kazakhs, Kirghiz—the majority being nomadic tribes. Under the khans a ruthless feudal system of taxation and tribute prevailed, grinding upon all nationalities alike, a class exploitation that benefitted the *bais* (wealthy cattle and land owners), the *beks* (feudal sub-rulers of provinces), and the *bees* (tribal or clan chiefs who preserved the tribal system long after class division had outmoded it, as a means of screening their feudal exploitation).

In 1876 the Tsarist regime set up a colonial Turkestan Province under a Governor-General, embracing most of the Central Asian territory (except for Kazakh areas that were under the Steppe Governor-Generalship to the north). Turkestan was divided into various regions: Transcaspia, Syr-Darya, Samarkand, Ferghana, Semirechye, and the two much shrunken khanates of Khiva and Bokhara. The capital was Tashkent, and Tsarist military garrisons were situated in the main towns of the territory, as in Verny (today's Alma-Ata), Pishpek (present-day Frunze), Ashkhabad, Samarkand.

Tsarist rule, built on continuing a subservient power structure of the feudal *bais* and *bees*, worsened rather than improved the status of the Asian nationalities. However, rapidly-growing Russian capitalism, seeking to exploit Turkestan as both a source of raw material and a market for manufactured goods, did bring changes of a long-run benefit: capitalist relationships grew and tended to weaken the feudal features of the society, and the beginnings of a proletariat emerged in all the national groups.

"As regards their (Central Asian peoples) material condition there can be no doubt that during the forty years which have elapsed since the formation of the Muslim republics of Central Asia there has been a remarkable advance in public health, industrial productivity, cotton output, communications and the standard of living. In all these matters the Muslim peoples of Soviet Central Asia are far ahead of those of any non-Soviet Muslim country and indeed of any Asian country. They have good reason to be satisfied with their present material condition."

G. Wheeler—"Soviet Central Asia"
The Muslim World, Oct. 1966, No. 4, Pp. 240-241

To appreciate what happened in Central Asia when the October Revolution occurred, one must keep in mind that, unlike the situation in the colonies of other imperialist powers, located as a rule far from the home country, in Turkestan there was an influx of a considerable number of Russian workers and poor peasants, to work on the railways, in the mines and in the limited industries and to settle as farmers in regions populated by nomads who had no settled agriculture. Also, in the Kazakh areas in particular, many Russian political prisoners, including Bolsheviks, were transported for exile. These contacts with a proletariat that was acquiring militant traditions of struggle and with its revolutionary vanguard, had a great impact on the peoples of Turkestan. A situation was created in which Russian workers and peasants, during and after the October Revolution, fought side by side with the Central Asian peoples to secure the revolution in Turkestan, a phenomenon of fraternal relations that contributed in later years to bringing about the voluntary incorporation of the Central Asian republics in the Soviet Union.

When Tsar was deposed and a bourgeois

Ancient Khiva in the Uzbek S.S.R. is a museum city. Built in the 16th century, it was the home of the khans.

Provisional Government under Kerensky was set up in St. Petersburg in February 1917, it had its reflection in Central Asia in the setting up of a Turkestan Committee representing the interests of Russian capitalists, feudal and religious leaders, officers, rich landowners, and petty-bourgeois nationalists. On the other hand, revolutionary forces, as elsewhere in the Russian Empire, formed worker, peasant and soldier soviets and fought for soviet power to replace the new regime of the ruling classes.

In the forefront of a struggle for supremacy that went on through 1917 between the Turkestan Committee and the Soviets were the Russian railway workers and soldier garrisons in the main towns, who swung to the side of the Bolsheviks. Among the non-Russian nationalities, support for a socialist revolution was augmented by 100,000 or more native peoples who had been recruited as laborers to bolster the World War I war fronts and who now returned home imbued with the "bread, peace and land" aims of a revolutionized army that had "voted with its feet" against imperialist war and Tsarism.

On October 27 (November 9), 1917 an armed uprising occurred in Tashkent, called by the Bolshevik-led Soviet of Workers and Peasants Deputies. Signalled by a siren in the Main Railway Workshop, it was victorious in four days and was echoed by the establishment of soviet power in Ashkhabad, Kushka, Samarkand, Krasnovodsk and other Turkestan centers. A Territorial Congress of Soviets of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants Deputies, which reserved places for Moslem Deputies, assembled in Tashkent on November 15 and established governmental organs, a Territorial Committee and a Council of Peoples Commissars of the Turkestan Territory. At this Congress an attempt was made by the Mensheviks and other opposition parties to propose a coali-

tion government with other class forces that would have diluted people's power but this was rejected by the Bolshevik leader, F. Kolesov, who said: "It is the soldiers, workers, and peasants who have won and they must take power into their own hands. There will be no salvation for the country and the revolution outside this system."

A vigorous program was carried out of setting up the new bodies of "workers" and "peasants" power. By the spring of 1918 there were 65 soviets in Turkestan: 25 Soviets of Workers Deputies, 20 Soviets of Soldiers Deputies, 8 Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, 7 Soviets of Peasants Deputies, and 5 Soviets of Moslem Deputies. Only the Khiva Khanate and the Bokhara Emirate remained for a time outside the range of Soviet power.

In Moscow the central ouncil of People's Commissars under Lenin clarified the objectives of the revolutionary government in Turkestan on November 20, 1917 by issuing an "Appeal to the Toiling Moslems of Russia and the East." It declared the principle of the right of nations to self-determination, asserted that the national and cultural institutions of the formerly oppressed nationalities were free and inviolable, and proclaimed their right to develop their life as they chose.

This was reinforced by a "Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People," drafted by Lenin on January 3 (16), 1918 and incorporated in the Constitution of the new Soviet Republic. It stated that "The Russian Soviet Republic is established on the principle of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national republics," and proposed "a complete break with the barbarous policy of bourgeois civilization, which has built the prosperity of the exploiters belonging to a few chosen nations on the enslavement of hundreds of millions of working people in Asia, in the colonies in general, and in the small countries." The objective set forth was "to create a really free and voluntary, and therefore all the more firm and stable, union of the working classes of all the nations of Russia . . . while leaving it to the workers and peasants of each nation to decide independently at their own authoritative Congress of Soviets whether they wish to participate in the federal government and in the other federal Soviet institutions, and on what terms."

A major step toward implementation of these revolutionary principles was taken on April 30, 1918 when the 5th Territorial Congress of Soviets in Turkestan, meeting in Tashkent, approved and proclaimed the creation of the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Republic and its membership in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. Decrees for laying the basis for a socialist transformation of Turkestan society had already been started by the previously-elected Council of People's Commissars and these were pushed further by the Autonomous Republic: nationalization of land, irrigation and railways, confiscation of cotton and other stores in the hands of local capitalists, and assistance to *dekhkans* (peasants).

Consolidation of Soviet power and rapid progress toward full self-determination for the Central Asian nationalities in the framework of socialism were impeded, however, by a long, complex and difficult period of having to contend with counter-revolution and imperialist intervention, from 1918 to 1921. A large and diverse number of enemies of Soviet power existed in the territory: Russian capitalists, landowners, colonial officials and White-guard army officers; native feudal, bourgeois nationalist and reactionary *mullah* religious leaders; pseudo-revolutionaries from anarchists to petty-bourgeois Mensheviks; British and American

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Nazar M. Matchanov, the President of the Uzbek Republic, recently stated:

"The Tashkent earthquake in April 1966 left 400,000 people in the capital of our republic without shelter. . . . That year the doors of all homes, all summer camps and children's sanatoriums in all republics were wide open to the children of Tashkent. We have an old custom in Uzbekistan called khashar: *When a man wants to build a house a khashar is announced and people from the neighborhood or the whole village come to help him. The entire country joined the great Tashkentkhashar. By the time winter arrived every person in Tashkent had a roof over his head. . . . This is the most eloquent friendship testimonial of any I have ever seen. . . . This is the most dramatic example of international friendship."*

imperialist agents ready to provide arms and finances for revolt. (In recent years the National Archives in India have turned up the highly revealing official reports of a Colonel F. Bailey of the British Intelligence Service who was sent into Turkestan to set up counter-revolutionary networks.)

In varied combinations, these groupings rebelled or fomented armed resistance against the new Republic. To the northwest, the Cossack Ataman, Dutov, led a counter-revolutionary army based on Orenburg. White Guard forces seized the Semirechye region to the northeast. Social-Revolutionary and Menshevik counter-revolutionists seized Ashkhabad and its vicinity. British troops occupied the Transcaspian region. The feudal *bais* organized the *Basmachi* bandit gangs in the Ferghana region. In both Khiva and Bokhara the feudal rulers accepted imperialist money and arms and allowed their territories to be used as bases for attacks on Soviet Turkestan.

Along with armed resistance, the opponents of Soviet power organized societies of reactionary nationalism and raised demagogic slogans to confuse the national question in Central Asia and to create an anti-Communist and anti-Russian sentiment. The Pan-Islamic movement sought to blur class and nationality distinctions with appeals for religious "holy war" against the "Communist infidels." The Pan-Turkic and Pan-Turanist movements tried to claim all Uzbeks, Turkmen, Kirghiz and others as Turk or Iranian and to arouse them against the Russian people, equating Russian workers and peasants with the old Tsarist rulers.

All of these counter-revolutionary movements, and the artificial regimes that they set up, were overcome eventually by the consistent, patient work of organization and education among the people by the Soviets, the Red Army, and the Turkestan Communist Party. Moslem *dekhkans* quickly saw in the course of struggle that the feudal elements were their oppressors and the self-sacrificing Communists were their class allies.

Although the Russian Federated Republic gave every possible assistance to this struggle, it was not in any way an imposition of "Great Russian" power upon Central Asia. The policy was clearly set forth by Lenin in an address to the 8th Congress of the Russian Communist

Nurse Matzuba Ichankhojaeva with some of the children at the Polyclinic in Tashkent, Uzbekistan.

Party on March 19, 1919, in which he demolished an argument by Bukharin that the right of nations to self-determination could be disregarded and that only the right of the *working class* to self-determination should be recognized:

". . . we have Bashkirs, Kirghiz and a number of other peoples, and to these we cannot deny recognition. We cannot deny it to a single one of the people living within the boundaries of the former Russian Empire. Let us even assume that the Bashkirs have overthrown the exploiters and we have helped them to do so. This is possible only when a revolution has fully matured, and it must be done cautiously, so as not to retard by one's interference that very process of the differentiation of the proletariat which we ought to expedite. What, then, can we do in relation to such peoples as the Kirghiz, the Uzbeks, the Tajiks, the Turkmen, who to this day are under the influence of their *mullahs*? Here, in Russia, the population, having had a long experience of the priests, helped us overthrow them. But you know how badly the decree on civil marriage is still being put into effect. Can we approach these peoples and tell them that we shall overthrow their exploiters? We cannot do that, because they are entirely subordinated to their *mullahs*. In such cases we have to wait until the given nation develops, until the differentiation of the proletariat from the bourgeois elements, which is inevitable, has taken place."

Lenin's remarks were based in part on events in February 1918, when the Council of People's Commissars in Turkestan, acting on incorrect bourgeois nationalist reports of a mass desire for the overthrow of the Emirate in Bokhara, sent units of the Red Army into Bokhara to assist the alleged readiness to revolt. The people of Bokhara, however, rallied to the Emir and the *mullahs* when they called for a "holy war" against the Red Army troops, and inflicted a defeat on the revolutionary force.

It was not until 1920 that the peasants and the urban artisans in both the Bokhara Emirate and the Khiva Khanate developed a sufficient awareness of the oppressive nature of their feudal rulers to want to overthrow them, an awareness hastened by the activities of the Emir and the Khan in trying to mobilize them into counter-revolutionary armies against the Turkestan Republic. In Khiva a revolution was victorious in February 1920, with a Khwarezm Soviet People's Republic proclaimed there in April. In Bokhara a revolution began on August 28, 1920, and by October 5, 1920 a Bokhara Soviet People's Republic came into being

"What impresses them (Asian visitors to Soviet Central Asia) are the powerful industrial aggregates, the disease-free markets and stores, the sewer systems, the water systems, the health services, the network of educational institutions, the advanced irrigation and cultivation techniques. . . ."

Harrison Salisbury, *N.Y. Times,* Nov. 27, 1961

An industrial proletariat was scarcely in evidence in either Khiva or Bokhara, accounting for the fact that these revolutions were of a popular democratic, and not a socialist, character. The *bais,* private traders and bourgeois nationalists remained strong, and, inevitably, sought to extend their interests at the expense of the working people. With heightened Communist influence in Central Asia, the "differentiation" process pointed to by Lenin rapidly matured. A sharp class struggle occurred, terminating in the removal of the moneyed elements from positions of power, their expropriation, and their disenfranchisement along with their *mullah* allies in 1922. A Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed in Khwarezm in October 1923 and in Bokhara in September 1924.

Developments in both of these states were hastened by the great assistance given by the Russian Federated Republic to their economies. An initial subsidy of 500 million rubles was granted to the Khwarezm People's Republic in 1920, and a non-payable loan of five billion rubles made to the Soviet People's Republic of Bokhara. These were the first of a series of loans, of provisions, of goods, and of extremely favorable trade arrangements that assured rapid progress for both.

Assistance from the Russian Federated Republic and, after 1922, from the various union republics that were incorporated in the Soviet Union proclaimed in that year, was the primary factor in the development of all Central Asia and in the firm foundation given to the national

republics that evolved. The first major assistance to Turkestan was a decree in 1920 by the central Council of People's Commissars that providel 50 million of gold rubles for irrigation systems. In the years of laying basis for socialism in Central Asia, up to 89 to 90 percent of the annual budgets for development in its national republics was contributed as fraternal assistance by the rest of the Soviet Union.

Progress that might have taken untold decades if Turkestan and its sister republics were left on their own was achieved in a remarkably few years. Within a decade, the transition from nomadism to a socialist industry and agriculture was substantially made. The bypassing of capitalism and the success of non-capitalist development in a backward region was first and most thoroughly demonstrated in Central Asia, where it was accomplished with the all-round international aid of the Russian and other peoples of the Soviet Union.

Many of the outstanding development projects in Central Asia are monuments of multinational labor contributed from all parts of the Soviet Union. The Kara-Kum Canal in Turkmenia, the Turk-Sib Railroad linking Kazakhstan with Siberia, the Nurek hydropower station in Tajikistan are examples in the early years. More recently there are the vast virgin lands development in Kazakhstan (over 25 million hectares) in the 1950's, and the reconstruction of earthquake-destroyed Tashkent in the 1960's.

Parallel with this economic assistance went the training of an entire working class and intelligentsia which had scarcely existed before, through educational, cultural and technological assistance. The key to national development, however, lay in measures for facilitating the self-determination of the nationalities of Central Asia. In July 1920 Lenin requested the Turkestan Commission of the Communist Party to prepare an ethnological map showing the population distribution of Uzbek, Kirghiz, Turkmen and other peoples in the Turkestan Republic. National delimitation was undertaken to solve the problem left behind by Tsarism and feudalism that had drawn artificial administrative boundaries cutting across tribes and nationalities to suit indifferent exploitive purposes, a problem found in most

The Nakipbekov sisters, violinist, pianist and cellist are from the Kazakh Republic.

ex-colonial areas where foreign rulers have viewed national identities as a threat.

Divisions into national republics that occurred, however, were not imposed from the top by Soviet authorities in Moscow. Although the principle of self-determination was included in the Soviet Constitution, its implementation was left to the wishes of the people concerned, and in every case the proposals originated with the lower Soviet and party organs in Turkestan, Khwarezm and Bokhara. After widespread discussion from below and in national commissions, the Central Executive Committees in Turkestan, Khwarezm and Bokhara passed their own resolutions in September 1924 on the right of Uzbek, Turkmen, Kazakh, Tajik and Kirghiz people to secede and set up their own national republics. Threshed-out and formalized, their proposals were embodied in a statute adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. on October 27, 1924.

This statute recognized the creation of sovereign Uzbek and Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republics and, as a result of their own voluntary decision, their incorporation as union re-

publics in the Soviet Union, the creation of a Tajik Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic within the Uzbek SSR, and the creation of an autonomous Kirghiz region (elevated to the status of an autonomous republic in February 1926) within the Russian Federated Republic. Prior to this statute, a Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic had been created within the Russian Federation, on September 1, 1920.

As the economic strength and cultural development of these republics grew, particularly during the Soviet Union's first Five-Year Plan, their status was raised within the Soviet Union. In 1929 the Tajik ASSR acquired sovereignty as a union republic. In 1936 both Kazahkhstan and Kirghizia became full-fledged union republics. Since that time, all five Central Asian republics have swiftly advanced as highly-industrialized socialist states, their balanced national development assured within protective, fraternal conditions of the whole Soviet society.

During the step-by-step development from autonomous status to full sovereignty, illiteracy was wiped out, national languages and cultures were given the widest opportunity to flower (a written Kirghiz language had not existed, for example, before the revolution), a broad industrial and a mechanized agricultural base with a skilled working class and peasantry was attained, and a large scientifically and technologically trained intelligentsia was created. As part of the Soviet Union, each nationality was able to advance without obstacles.

It was not achieved without sharp ideological struggles over the question of nationalism and over various deviations from a working class concept of it. A majority of Communists in Central Asia at the time of the revolution had been Russians and among some of these a tendency toward great-nation chauvinism at first appeared; it was sternly rooted out in open struggle by Russian Communists allied with native Communists, with major emphasis being placed on bringing majority representatives of the native nationalities into both party and government. On the other hand, ultra-nationalist trends were also dealt with firmly, such as the Pan-Turkic movement that rejected the idea of separate Uzbek, Turkmen, Kazakh and other nationalities and that proposed a purely Maslem state essentially anti-Russian in character such trends, encouraged by bourgeois nationalist enemies of socialism, were fought and overcome, the concept of the multi-national state with the principal nationality in the salient role prevailing.

National exclusiveness has thus not been the principle observed in any of the Central Asian republics. When national delimitation was finally worked out, no nationality was wholly gathered by either force or persuasion behind its own boundary walls. Uzebekistan, for example, embraced at the outset of its republic status 82.6 percent of Uzbeks in Central Asia, and they comprised 76.1 percent of the population in Uzbekistan itself (in 1970 this percentage stood at 64.7 percent due to population shifts), while Uzbek minorities have remained scattered through the other republics. In varying degrees, the same general situation has prevailed for all the other national republics. Although the principal nationality has determined the main cultural features of each, they are all multi-national in the fullest extent of the term and proudly call themselves living examples of proletarian internationalism.

More than 100 nationalities live and work in harmony in Kazakhstan; it is common to find 40 or more nationalities in a single factory or on a single collective or state farm. In Kirghizia there are 89 nationalities, 70 in Turkmenia, nearly 100 in Tajikistan. In Uzbekistan four million of the population of 12 million are non-Uzbeck, covering a similarly wide range of nationalities.

In Kazakhstan there are 212,000 Koreans. They preserve their own national identity, language and culture, and have their own newspapers in the Korean language. In the capital city of Alma-Ata there is a famous Korean theater of drama and musical comedy.

This harmonious solution of the national question in the Central Asian republics has

"No one today can seriously suggest that the Soviet Union's colorful potpourri of peoples . . . do not live together in relative harmony or that there exists a danger of separatism."

Charlotte Saikowski, *Christian Science Monitor*, Jan. 27, 1970

been a leading factor in their socialist development. Western propaganda has tried hard to create an impression of "Great Russian chauvinism" and of "Soviet colonialism" in these five Asian republics; such claims are easily disproven by a visit to any city or rural area in Central Asia, where the leading role of the native population in the government, economy, culture, party, science, education and other fields is immediately and strikingly noticeable.

The accomplishments of these multi-national socialist republics have been one of the main themes in the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union in 1972.

Mirsaid Mirshakar, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan, has put it in this way:

"Before the Revolution there was practically no industry in our area. We had but small and primitive enterprises for the primary processing of farming produce and for the manufacture of household implements. There was one coal mine, one small oil well, and two electric power stations of 8kw capacity. The total number of factory workers was slightly more than 200.

"During a recent visit to West Berlin I told all this to our German friends and they asked with bewilderment: 'How did you succeed in catching up with the foremost republics in your country in such a short time? What is the secret?'

"Naturally, not knowing the substance of the national relations in the Soviet Union, it is hard to understand the motive power of our swift progress. The progress of Tajikistan was and is based on close cooperation with all the socialist nations. I remember the first five-year plans. The assistance from the central part of the country, above all from the Russian working class, to the other areas and republics of the country, was of decisive importance."

The "Soviet colonialism" slander is refuted even more easily by the statistics and facts of socialist economic development. By 1971 industrial production in Kirghizia had increased by over 201 times since the October Revolution, by 158 times in Kazakhstan, by more than 95 times in Tajikistan, and by more than 50 times in Uzbekistan and Turkmenia (the latter two the more developed areas under Tsarism). Kazakhstan's industry alone turns out three times more production today than the whole

Jamal Kanlybayeva is a member of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh Republic.

of Tsarist Russia did in 1913. It produces more electric power than Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan together.

Some of the major bases in the whole Soviet Union of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical industry, machine-building, chemicals, oil refining and hydro-electric power have grown in each of the Central Asian republics, along with an extensive network of light industry producing consumer goods. Under the specialization made possible by Soviet fraternal relations of mutual assistance, Uzbekistan, to cite one case, has become one of the leading cotton producing states in the world (6.4 million tons in 1971), but it also produces its own machines for cotton-growing, makes its own spinning

Woman scienist visits miners in Karaganda coalfields.

and weaving machines, processes the cotton into textiles, and has its own plants for producing chemical fertilizers for cotton-growing.

Kirghizia, a nomadic region in Tsarist days, today has over 500 major industrial enterprises. A kerosene lamp in a *yurta* (tent) had once been a sign of luxury; today the republic is fully electrified. In the first year of the first five-year plan, in 1928, Kirghizia had 20 tractors; in 1972 its collective and state farms had over 40,000 tractors and more than 3,000 grain combines.

The educational strides by a socialist Kirghizia have been even more remarkable. Prior to the Revolution, the Kirghiz people had been almost totally illiterate, with a literacy rate of only 0.5 percent. In the main city of Pishpek (today's Frunze) only 17 people could sign their names in 1905. The Kirghiz had no written language. Today the republic has its own Academy of Sciences, 9 institutions of higher education, and 36 technicums training specialists in 179 fields. In 1971 there were 90,000 students attending higher and specialized secondary schools. Over 6,200 scientists were working in research institutions.

In the socialist republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan as a whole in 1971 there were over 26,000 general education schools with 8,900,000 pupils, and 104 higher education establishments with 559,000 students. Early in 1972 the number of specialists with a higher or specialized secondary training had reached 1,800,000. Scientific workers in the five national

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"Ancient hatreds are almost forgotten in this central Asian city. . . . About 600,000 Kazakhs, Russians, Germans . . . live in harmony . . . dark-skinned, Oriental Kazakhs, Koreans and Mongols, fair-skinned Russians, Ukrainians, Germans and Caucasian Moslems, with all shades in between. There are peoples who once held each other in fear and subservience. Now they live as neighbors. . . . Most residents say race relations are a model for the rest of the world. Discrimination does not exist, they say, and members of all nationalities, who live side by side, can be found in positions of authority."

A Reuters dispatch (*Chronicle*, 1968c) from the Kazakh capital, Alma-Ata.

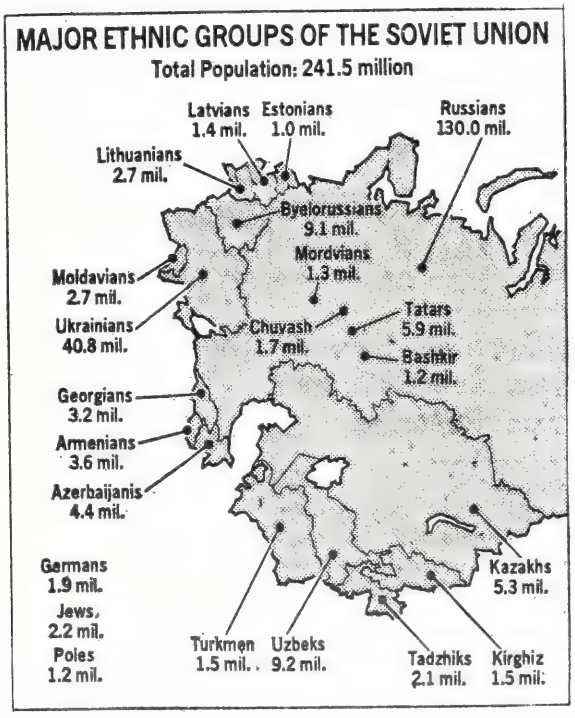
Academies of Science totalled over 66,000.

Pre-revolutionary health facilities were virtually non-existent for the working people of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. In 1971 the five socialist republics had over 74,000 doctors, and more than 4,000 hospitals with 374,000 beds. Kazakhstan is perhaps the most striking in this aspect of development: its territory had only 224 doctors before 1917, while today it has nearly 30,000 doctors and 100,000 doctors' assistants and nurses.

A joint statement by the vice-presidents of the Academies of Sciences of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan, made in September 1972, explained the reasons for the development made abreast by these five Central Asian socialist republics, saying that "With the passage of time socialist construction becomes a

matter of pooling together the creative efforts of all nations and nationalities on the basis of full equality and fraternal assistance," and pointed to "the consistent pursuance by the Party of the Leninist course towards ironing out the differences between the levels of economic, socio-political and cultural development of different nations and nationalities in the country."

The first socialist republics in Asia have been dramatic pioneers in the overcoming of colonial underdevelopment, and are foremost examples of the by-passing of a capitalist stage in the leap from backwardness to an advanced industrial society of a socialist type. The same kind of fraternal assistance that they received and that enabled them to make that leap has since been extended by them to the newer socialist republics in Asia, in Korea, Vietnam and China.



Portrait of a family.

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9. "Community: Socialism and Destinies of Nations," by M. Khalmukhamedov. *Sovetskaya Rossia,* August 4, 1972.

COMMENTS OF BLACK AMERICANS

A delegation of Black Americans toured Soviet Central Asia recently for three weeks. The 11-member group, which included journalists, teachers, writers and artists, visited, in addition to many other places in the Soviet Union, Tashkent, Samarkand and Dushanbe. Here are some comments from some of the visitors.

George B. Murphy, Jr., group leader, journalist for the publication *Afro-American*, and secretary of the American-Korean Friendship And Information Center said:

"We visited two Soviet national republics—Uzbekistan and Tajikistan—whose peoples had endured slavery under the Czars. It was a great delight for us to see darker peoples who had known only slavery but who had leaped over Czarist imperialism, the brutality, arrogance and exploitation of man by man under capitalism, and moved into socialism. This, to us, was the meaning of Soviet power because these peoples—the Tajiks and the Uzbeks—were able to make that leap with the loving interest and concern of Soviet power.

"We saw that women in these two republics, who for centuries had been semi-slaves to man, in addition to being slaves of the shas, the emirs and the landowners, were walking with unveiled faces, beautiful faces.

"They were equal to men in their work, were occupying positions of influence in the government of the country, in medicine, power development, heavy industry, construction, in short, in the building of a new society. We saw in the life of these two republics, as well as throughout the Soviet Union, what is meant by the creation of a new socialist man and woman. It was an enjoyment that each of us felt. We will never forget it."

Ella M. Pappademos, Chicago elementary school teacher said:

"I was especially interested in the two Central Asian republics we visited, and in the status of women there. I got the impression that women in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan are right up in front. We met some who are factory managers or vice presidents of the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets.

"I particularly like Samarkand, where we spent one day. It was a place I'd read about and dreamed of seeing. The city is really tremendous. It's hard to believe that there was once a city like ancient Samarkand and that the people are preserving this part of their heritage while they build the future for themselves.

"I went to Tashkent, and there again we saw things that impressed us, especially the people of Uzbekistan. Then we went to Dushaube, the capital of Tajikistan. We took a ride through a mountain tunnel to a power station that's being built in Nurek. If someone had described it to me, I would have said it was impossible, on one could do a job as big as that. But when you get there, you see it can and is being done. I'd just like to come back in five years to see how the project has developed."

Alice Childress, actress and playright, said:

"I was very much impressed with the women of Central Asia. One woman in Tashkent told me what a long way Moslem women had come from the time when they used to cover their faces with veils and had no rights or privileges. She said, too, that women were once sold like commodities. Now they have equal rights as well as many special ones, such as child care, based on the needs of workingmen."

CHILE SI, YANQUI JUNTA NO

By MICHAEL MYERSON

When Salvador Allende was elected President of Chile in 1970 as the candidate of the Popular Unity coalition, one of his first acts upon taking office was to recognize and establish diplomatic ties with the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea. Chile, under Allende, also recognized Cuba, of course, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic and the Peoples Republic of China, in a diplomatic offensive designed to break out of the isolation imposed on Latin America by the colossus of the north.

Now, three years later, a CIA-ITT organized fascist military junta has come to power through the murder of the *Companero Presidente,* as he was known to the workers and peasants of Chile. And one of the first acts of the fascist officers was to reverse Chile's new diplomatic course by provoking a break in relations with all of the above countries, except China, and with the rest of the socialist camp. In some cases the junta perpetrated acts of provocative violence. The Cuban Embassy was assaulted with guns and two Cuban diplomats were wounded, including the Ambassador, while the entire Cuban staff was given 24 hours to leave the country. A Cuban ship in the harbor of Valparaiso was fired on and hit by the fascist navy. The Soviet merchant navy also was harrassed by the junta, with one crew being held and physically abused. (In December, two months later, the Swedish Ambassador and a French diplomat were beaten up by fascist police for protecting refugees who had asked for asylum.) Fascist soldiers invaded the premises of the DPRK embassy under construction and searched the residence of the Ambassador. Embassy property and personal belongings were taken by the soldiers.

Before he was elected President, Salvadore Allende had all of his life been active in the struggle to alleviate the misery of the Chilean masses. A medical doctor by profession he became Minister of Health as a young man. A founder of the Socialist Party in his country he always urged unity with Chile's Communists, and it was this unity which formed the heart and the muscle of the popular government. It was Allende's friend Pablo Neruda, the greatest poet of our time and a Communist Senator, who stepped aside as his Party's Presidential candidate in favor of a united candidacy of Allende. The fascist forces in Chile will forever be remembered in shame at having killed these two giants within days of each other.

Reports from refugees coming out of Chile or finding asylum in Santiago's diplomatic community report more than 15,000 killed by the junta, an equivalent in the United States of 300,000. Another 10,000 are in prison undergoing torture. Among them are many key leaders of the Popular Unity government and parties, including Luis Corvalan, secretary of the Communist Party. The specter of fascism in Chile is al ltoo reminiscent of its German counterpart in the 1930s, complete with book burning, anti-Semitism, concentration camps, smashing of all democratic liberties and of the trade unions, torture and barbarism.

The outpouring of anger at the junta and support for Chile's patriots has been widespread and profound. The world well knows, as President Allende pointed out a year ago in the United Nations, that it is the United States that cut off credits in world trade with Chile, imposed an embargo and economic blackmail on that nation, attempted to subvert the election of the Allende government, and finally did overthrow it through its surrogates in the Chilean armed forces, business commu-

Michael Myerson's recent books are *Memories of Underdevelopment: The Revolutionary Films of Cuba* (Grossman, 1973) and *Watergate: Crime in the Suites* (International, 1973). He visited the Democratic Republic of Korea in 1970 as a journalist, and has recently joined the editorial board of *Korea Focus*.

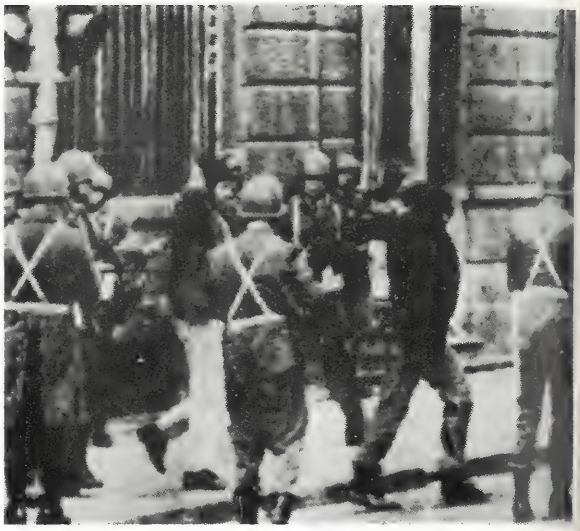
Kim Il Sung at reception for Laura Allende (to his left), sister of the slain Chilean leader.

nity and reactionary political parties. Chilean patriots say that this was the work of the United States, of ITT, Kennecott Copper, of CIA and Pentagon, of Richard Nixon and Watergate. They look with special importance to the other United States—of the peace forces and the anti-imperialist movement, to the working people and their organizations—for acts of solidarity to stay the hand of U.S. intervention as they consolidate their resistance to fascism.

Salvador Allende and members of his family had the opportunity to visit many of the socialist countries both before and after he became president. He looked to them as Chile's greatest source of aid and solidarity. The many trips to Cuba, to the Soviet Union, to the DPRK also confirmed for him the validity of the path that Popular Unity embarked on, setting the stage for the transformation to socialism. Now Chilean fascism, supported by U.S. arms and financial aid seeks to reverse that direction: free clinics for peasants and workers are being shut down so the poor have to pay for expensive centralized hospitals; free milk programs for children have been dismantled to the advantage of rich merchants; trade union and worker participation in the running of factories and farms is being eliminated to return to the standard exploitation by capitalists, and superexploitation as nationalized enterprises are being returned to the transnational corporations.

President Allende knew, as the Popular Unity parties still know as they build their resistance movement, that even though fascism might gain temporary victories the tide of history will sweep it out to sea. They know of the

growing anti-fascist movement in South Korea. As they know of their counterparts in Spain, Greece, and elsewhere. They know of the victories of the Indochinese people in defeating U.S. aggression and the continuing fight against the puppet regimes in Saigon and Pnom Penh. They know of the recent victories of the the people of Guinea-Bissau. They know that even though they may in different circumstances changes their tactics (and it is for them, not for North Americans of whatever class or political persuasion, to select their own tactics and strategy), their socialist goal will come to fruition, as it has in Cuba, the Soviet Union and the DPRK through various paths and circumstances.



Troops and police comb Santiago streets for patriots.

Pyongyang rallies in Support Chile Patriots

Solidarity meetings were held in Pyongyang to denounce the criminal acts of U.S. imperialism and the Chilean pro-U.S. military fascist clique who had engineered the reactionary military coup, overthrown the legitimate Popular Unity Government and usurped the state power, and to support the just struggle of the Chilean people who have risen up for the achievement of the country's progress and for the defense of the democratic system.

A letter of condolence to the wife of the late President Salvador Allende Gossens was adopted at the central women's rally held in Pyongyang on September 20.

A national meeting of the Korean working class and trade union members held on September 22 at the Chollima House of Culture in Pyongyang adopted a letter to express their solidarity.

Chilean youth being led off to prison by soldiers of the junta.

World Peace Congress Resolution on Chile

The fascist putsch in Chile has shown once again that the policy of the imperialist, reactionary forces poses a great danger for peoples taking the path of freedom and independent political and social development. The overthrow of the legitimate Popular Unity Government of Salvador Allende is a reminder that the international monopolies, and the forces of external and domestic reaction are prepared at any time to mount a counter-offensive

Chile's experience shows once again that the struggle for democratic ideals, for basic human rights, and for the strengthening of legality and the rule of law and order based on the will of the people, is closely bound up with an active policy of peace and equal cooperation in the international arena. The tragedy of Chile demonstrates once again that the forces which are against détente, against consolidating international security are the same forces which attempt to hinder the march of the peoples.

The growing solidarity with the Chilean people, the struggle against terrorism and violence by the junta, for the liberation of all democrats and patriots, and for the genuine rebirth of Chile is becoming a part of the movement for the consolidation of a universal, just and democratic peace. It is assuming truly world-wide proportions.

WHERE TO SEND YOUR PROTESTS OVER REPRESSION IN CHILE

Appeals for the release of Chilean political prisoners, including Luis Corvalan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, who was recently sent to the antarctic death camp on Dawson Island, can be sent to:

Embassy of Chile (Chancellery), 1736 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D.C.

Phone: (202) 785-1746 or direct line from New York 245-1471.

And to:

United Nations Mission of Chile, 809 UN Plaza, N.Y., N.Y. 10017. Phone (212) MU 7-7547.

Protests to U.S. officials can be directed to:

Henry A. Kissinger, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520, phone (202) 655-4000.

Or: Arnold Isaacs, Chile desk, U.S. Department of State, phone (202) 632-2575.

When writing congressmen, it is best to ask about specific prisoners. This is most likely to receive a definite response. Appeals to the United Nations can be sent to:

UN Commission on Human Rights, United Nations, N.Y. 10017.

Among those persons held at Dawson Island, the National Stadium, the Military Academy and Quirinquina Island, are 18 government ministers and former ministers, 3 senators, including Senator Luis Corvalan, Secretary-General of the Chilean Communist Party, whose life is in imminent danger.

Six leaders of political parties and united working people's coalition centers.

Seven deputies from left parties.

Six university rectors, deans and professors, 2 mayors, 10 newspaper editors, journalists, writers and correspondents, the President of the Student Federation, the manager of the Central Bank, physicians, including the personal physician of Allende, the manager of the Fomento Corp., and the manager of the Alota Coal Mines.

In addition to tens of thousands of Chileans murdered, are U.S. students killed and detained for whom the U.S. government and its State Department and CIA agents refuse to take any responsibility.

DPRK Breaks Relations with Chile Junta

The following are excerpts from the statement of the Foreign Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea made public September 18, 1973:

The reactionary military forces of Chile, at the instigation of U.S. imperialism, staged a fascist military coup, overthrew the legitimate Popular Unity Government which was established in accordance with the general will of the Chilean people and usurped the state power in a brigandish way.

The Chilean military hooligans, inspired by the U.S. imperialists, murdered President Salvador Allende Gossens, and are suppressing and massacring the progressive and patriotic people, while at the same time enforcing a hostile policy towards progressive countries.

. . . In recent years the relations of friendship and cooperation between DPRK and the Republic of Chile have been strengthened and developed through sincere mutual support and cooperation in accomplishing the common cause of opposing U.S. imperialism, the common enemy, and building a new society.

The Government and people of our Republic were among the first to warmly hail the establishment of the Popular Unity Government in Chile and positively supported and encouraged all the progressive policies this government enforced, smashing threats and subversive maneuvers of every form on the part of the enemies within and without.

The Government and people of the Republic of Chile expressed full support and firm solidarity for the just struggle of our people for ending the country's split and achieving the country's independent peaceful reunification.

The DPRK Government proceeding from our principled stand of consistently supporting the peoples in their just struggle and from the revolutionary fidelity of our Government and people to the Chilean Popular Unity Government and people, declares that it will suspend the state relations with Chile while the fascist reactionary forces exercise power in Chile.

The following are excerpts from a statement October 16, 1973 from the Office of the Permanent Observer of the DPRK to the United Nations, His Excellency Kwon Min Jun, Ambassador Extraordinaire and Plenipitentiary:

Today, all the peace-loving peoples of the whole world are denouncing and protesting against the vicious criminal acts committed by the ultra-right wing military junta who murdered President Allende, an outstanding politician and ardent patriot of the Chilean people, and took state power in a brigandish way through a fascist military coup.

These ultra-right wing reactionaries in Chile have converted Chile into a land of evil crimes for the fascists bandists where terrorism and massacre prevail, and further intensify their malignant criminal acts every day.

The fascist military junta of Chile attempted in vain, at the General Assembly meeting of the United Nations on October 9, last, to hoodwink and mislead public opinion through nonsensical sophistry, about so-called "interference in the internal affairs" of Chile by the Democratc People's Republic of Korea.

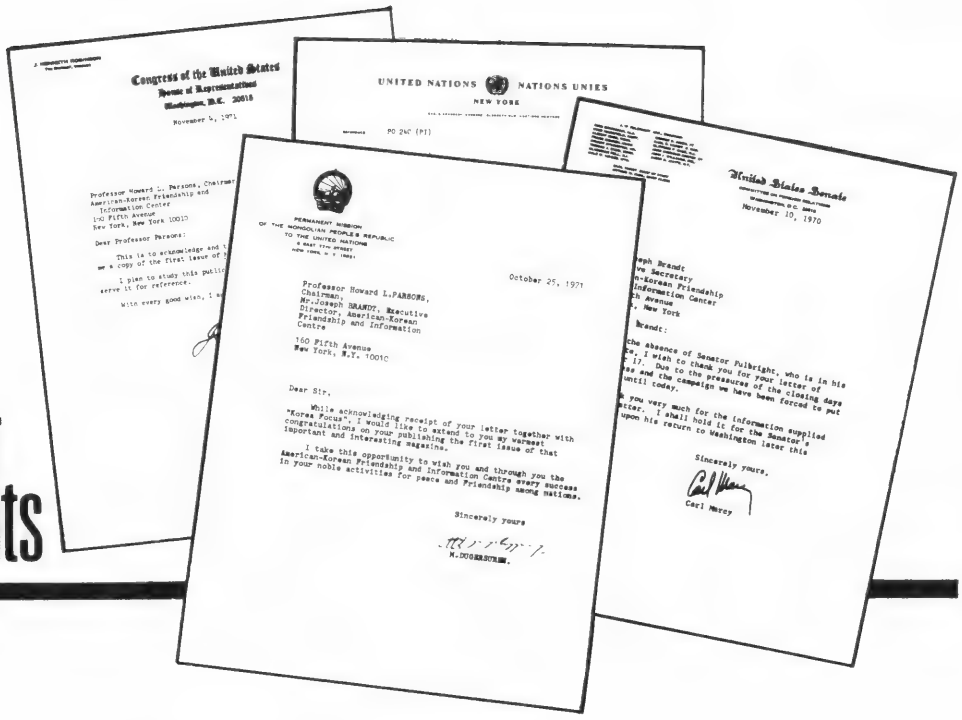
It was nothing but a shameless act of a thief shouting "stop thief."

No amount of fictions and fabrications can cover up the anti-popular criminal acts of the fascist military rascals in Chile.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea regards its principle in its external relations to establish state, political, economic and cultural relations with all countries who treat our country in a friendly manner, on the basis of complete equality and sovereignty, mutual respect and non interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual benefit.

The Korean people are firmly convinced that, though the Chilean people are undergoing temporary ordeals now, they will certainly tide over the difficulties before them and win the final victory in their sacred struggle for safeguarding freedom, democracy and national sovereignty.

Reader Comments



Many thanks for all your support and helpful suggestions during the ten days preceding the Korean demonstration at the United Nations, September 18.

We feel it was pretty successful and a good start for more activities in the future. The program of speakers was as well-balanced and I think everyone came away with greate consiousness and spirit. We will keep in touch with you as we make further plans.

B.S., For:
The Ad Hoc Committee For A One-Korea Policy in the U.N.

Korea Focus continues to be a highly interesting and informative publication. Please enter my subscription starting with the issue after Vol. II, No. 1. I fully expect to be able to use the magazine in my course on East Asia.

I was very pleased to read that there will now be DPRK representatives in New York for the United Nations.

Prof. Robert Simmons
Dept., Political Science
Univ. of California

I received your letter dated July 26 soliciting my renewal for *Korea Focus*. As a student my finances are limited but I will gladly renew and enclosed please find money order.

Korea Focus performs an important function and I would be very disappointed if I missed any issue. I sincerely hope your excellent work will continue.

Ted Charlesworth
Michigan

Thank you very much for the very informative and educational material on Korea, which you have sent to us.

California Regional Office
Viet Nam Veterans Against The War

I just read in the *New World Review* about your new magazine, *Korea Focus*. My interest in Korea is relatively recent. Please send me the first three issues of *Korea Focus*. I would like to read more about the economic and social progress in the DPRK, the work of Korean economists and international coperation of the DPRK with other socialist countries.

Ted Theodosis
Massachusetts

I read with great interest and appreciation, a copy of *Korea Focus*, Vol. II, No. 1, which came my way the other day. I am very enthusi-

astic about it and would like to propose that you exchange your periodical with us, the Journal of Contemporary Asia. We have not yet covered Korea very much but we aim to do in good time.

Malcolm Caldwell
Editorial Board
Journal of Contemporary Asia
Eltham, London, England

Please renew my subscription. Keep up your good work! Am with you all the way!

John L. Fisher
Massachusetts

Late last night over the radio I heard an account of the North Korean's first speech at the United Nations, and I thought "Well, we had something to do with his being there," and will have had something to do with the outcome. So, congratulations. It is not always one sees such reward for one's efforts.

And congratulations on the last issue of *Korea Focus.* I am especially glad you used Howard Parsons' article. I hope reprints will become available.

And thanks very much for the World Peace Council material you keep sending me. I keep passing it along among many friends in Indiana.

Ruth Crawford Norrick
Indiana

As one who opposed US intervention in Korea from the beginning (1950) I have maintained a great deal of interest in the people and in the country.

It is heart warming to see the progress the

World Peace Congress Supports Korean People

(Continued from page 16)

The 28th UN General Assembly session should take measures for stripping the U.S. troops occupying South Korea of the "UN forces" helmets and making them withdraw and for dissolving the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea." (The UNCURK was dissolved by unanimous decision of the 28th UN GflA.S. Nov. 1973.)

(2) We denounce the plots of the United States and the South Korean authorities to perpetuate Korea's split and create "two Koreas" through simultaneous admissions of North and South Korea to the United Nations. (This too was defeated at the UN session.)

(3) We demand that the South Korean authorities discontinue their suppression of and terrorism against the patriotic, democratic personages.

(4) We fully support the programme for national reunification put forth by President Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, considering that it is a reasonable one which makes it possible to consolidate peace in Korea and promote Korea's reunification. (Kim Il Sung's five-point program appeared in *Korea Focus,* Vol. II, No. 2.)

(5) The Congress ardently appeals to the world peace-loving peoples to unfold more extensively and more actively the movement of international solidarity in support of the Korea people's struggle to prevent Korea's split and achieve the country's independent and peaceful reunification.

In addition, 101 delegates of 53 countries and delegates of five international organizations to the Congress published an appeal to the representatives of all countries present at the United National General Assembly supporting President Kim Il Sung's five-point program for the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea presented on June 23, 1973.

The U.S. delegation to the Congress of close to 200 delegates, issued a statement demanding that the U.S. government withdraw its troops from South Korea, stop its military aid to the Park Chung Hee clique and stop interfering in the internal affairs of the Korean people.

The warm support of the peace forces of the world to the Korean people's struggle for their country's independence and peaceful reunification is a great inspiration to the people of the North and South.

North Koreans have made under the constant threat of US military attacks.

I have in my possession a leaflet we printed in 1950. It's yellowed with age, but still has impact. It was reprinted in other languages and distributed around the world. We are naturally proud of it. When you ever get out to Chicago we'll show it to you.

Ernest De Maio
President, District 11
United Electrical & Machine Workers Union, USA

I have been unsuccessful in obtaining a copy of your publication. I have heard extremely nice things about it, and if possible, please send me a sample copy.

Allen L. Hyman
New York City

Korea Focus continues to supply to the American reader the kind of information, analysis and reflection that was so sadly lacking before this treasure began publication.

The reader will find relevant data, considered judgment and sources of further study which will amply reward him for the time spent in their perusal.

John Sommerville
Professor Emeritus
City Univ. of New York

Thank you for continuing to send us copies of your publication, *Korea Focus*. The most recent issue we received on South Korea contained many excellent articles and has been very helpful to us in the educational work we do on South Korea.

We notice in a recent issue of the publication "Insight," that your organization was involved in a demonstration against the two-Koreas policy in the United Nations. This we considered an important act of solidarity with the Korean people and undoubtedly will provide great encouragement for the DPRK-UN delegation in New York.

We are pleased to hear that you have received positive response from the letter-writing campaign to Congress and appreciate your efforts. We are looking forward to the coming issue of *Korea Focus*. We wish you continued success in your work of educating the American people about the truth of the Korean situation.

Barbara Pottgen, For:
The Committee For Solidarity With The Korean People
San Francisco, Cal.

Your last issue of *Korea Focus* excellent. Please renew.

Walter Case
Texas

Enclosed is my renewal. *Korea Focus* is the only periodical that keeps us informed about developments in Korea and East Asia and tlls it as it is. Carry on the good work.

Max Miller
California

I have been meaning to drop you a line for quite a while now. Upon receiving the last issue of *Korea Focus*, I felt that you and your staff needed congratulations. It was by far the best issue yet.

I have a suggestion, that the article "Leave Korea to the Koreans" be sent to all the heads of the People's Coalition For Peace And Justice regions in the midwest. Perhaps 100 copies should be sent to each one. This article is just the thing that is needed.

I am enclosing a check for $25 which should cover mailing expenses, and also a copy of *Korea Focus* for each one of these people Mention that I gave the names to you and that they should push on the question of the US getting out of South Korea.

John Gilman
Mid-West Director, PCPJ
Wisconsin

The crimes of our country and the crimes of others we aid and abet cry to the heavens. No example has been better exposed than that of South Korea in *Korea Focus*, Vol. 11, No. 1. It is truly a superb document. Please accept my renewal for *Korea Focus* and sponsorship of the Center. Wish we could send a thousandfold the amount of this check.

Ruth Gage-Colby
New York, NY

Enclosed find $25 to cover renewal and contribution. It is smaller than I had intended

due to other commitments. Hope to do better in the future.

Katherine Senick
California

The first three issues of a handsomely printed large new magazine, *Korea Focus,* has now appeared, published by the recently formed American-Korean Friendship & Information Center.

Relevant documents, bibliographies, book reviews, reader feed-backs, maps and abundant photographic illustrations make this new magazine one of the most attractive, timely and informative, available in the struggle for peace and enlightenment.

(*From a review of our publication in the* New World Review
Second Quarter, 1973)

Peace Congress Resolution

(Continued from page 17)

The policy of creating a system of collective security in Asia, open to all Asian states, regardless of their social system, must be founded on the principles of peaceful coexistence in promoting the spirit of Bandung. It will unquestionably help to settle such important problems as the immediate elimination of still existing flashpoints of war and the surmounting of the consequences of foreign aggression and interference. On this road it is necessary steadily to intensify the struggle to rid Asia and the Pacific region of nuclear tests, foreign military bases and military blocs. The earliest possible admission of the Republic of Bangladesh to the UN and the full normalization of the situation in South Asia, and the conversion of the Indian Ocean into a peace zone are essential elements of Asian security, the idea of which is receiving growing support and merits the closest consideration by the interested countries. Such a system could create the conditions for comprehensive Asian cooperation among Asian nations for their development and social progress.

The dialogue between the North and South Korea, begun on the initiative of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, was a further step towards the peaceful reunification of Korea on a democratic basis, without foreign interference. But obstacles were made by the South Korean authorities.

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd. I was glad to see, from the extensive list of materials you sent me, that books and information from the DPRK and about the DPRK is increasingly available in the United States. I hope that as times go on more contact will be open between our two countries and peoples.

A appreciated the copy of *Korea Focus* that you forwarded. As you can imagine, as a graduate student I find my resources rather limited. Since our library subscribes to your magazine I will avail myself of their copy for my own information.

While I have not seen many of your issues of *Korea Focus,* and while I realize you have many audiences to write for, I would like to suggest that you have more articles about the DPRK, its social, economic and political systems. Though I can understand your concern with US support for the ROK government, I do hope that you will devote more space to the DPRK, which we Americans hear little about in our press.

Edward W. Cloth, Jr.
Washington State

(Editor's note: other issues of *Korea Focus* carry substantial material on the DPRK.)

I am a second generation Korean. Presently I am in my senior year at Stanford University, majoring in economics.

Recently I came across a copy of *Korea Focus* and am very impressed with its contents and direction. I intend to subscribe in the near future. Place my name on your mailing list. Thank you.

Edward K. S. Ryu
California

A BOOK REVIEW

OPEN SECRET

By JOHN R. HITZ

"OPEN SECRET: The Kissinber-Nixon Doctrine in Asia," edited by Virginia Brodine and Mark Selden. Introduction by Noam Chomsky. Harer & Row Perennial Library, 1972. 218 pp. $1.50.

Open Secret consists of four essays: an introduction by Noam Chomsky: "Henry Kissinger's Diplomacy of Force" by Brodine and Selden; Keith Buchanan's "Geography of Empire" and John Dower's "Asia and the Nixon Doctrine." The book was published with the cooperation of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars.

The main thrust of the essays is that, in spite of a temporary setback in Vietnam, the U.S. continues to pursue under Nixon and Kissinger an imperial policy in Asia, and that in many ways the "new" imperial policy is more dangerous to the peoples of Asia than U.S. escalation of "conventional" warfare in Vietnam in the late 1960's.

Chomsky points out that the Nixon-Kissinger doctrine is a reversion to the Dulles policy of the 1950's, when instead of committing our own troops to ground warfare we got others to do our dirty work or relied on covert operations to protect and establish reactionary regimes. Examples of this are U.S. support for France to Indochina and CIA activity in Iran and Guatemala. We can see that Chomsky may be right if we analyze the difference between U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965 and U.S. involvement in the fascist coup in Chile in 1973.

In spite of the seeming friendliness of recent contacts, Nixon and Kissinger still regard the socialist countries as irresponsible, outlaw powers (according to Kissinger, like Napoleonic France at the beginning of the 19th Century); these powers, always ready to disrupt the "balance of forces," must be "restrained," ultimately at any cost, even nuclear war. And with the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Asia, the nuclear threshold has been lowered.

The hopeful aspect of the present conjuncture, according to Chomsky, is the resistance of the peoples of Asia, particularly the Vietnamese and increasingly, we may add, the Cambodians, Laotians, South Koreans and Thais, to imperial subjugation.

The major weakness to Chomsky's introduction is its anti-Soviet bias. He identifies the USSR as a superpower with its own imperial system, which suppresses forces of national liberation, and equates it with the U.S. He forgets that the USSR is the foremost supplier of both material and ideological assistance to national liberation movements in the world today. His blindness on this point is unconcionable and, unfortunately, a very common phenomenon on the U.S. left.

The heart of *Open Secret* is not Chomsky's introduction, however, but the essay by Brodine and Selden and the essay by Dower. These spell out in detail the Kissinger-Nixon doctrine for Asia. Brodine and Selden discuss the genesis and implications of Kissinger's ideas, including his reactionary enthusiasm for aristocratic forms of democracy, where imperial ministers can make foreign policy without regard to popular pressure, his impatience with "bureaucratic tmidity," and his "willingness to take risks," even those leading to nuclear war. Regarding nuclear war, we must never forget that this is the man who advocated the use of "tactical" nuclear weapons in "limited" wars in the 1950's and the man who regretted that nuclear weapons were not used against China during the Korean War. The essay contains encouraging remarks for antiwar activities when it says that Kissinger blames the mass "ban the bomb" campaign of the 1950's (which he describes as a creation of Soviet propaganda) for forging a climate which made the use of nuclear weapons in the 1950's impossible. This statement, along with others about the restraining effect upon imperialism of the

increasing power of the socialist countries, gives us some appreciation of the countervailing power of popular and anti-imperialist forces and the necessity for the continued strengthening of these forces.

Brodine and Selden explore thoroughly the Kissinger-Nixon policy of lethal escalation and show how it operated, and may operate again, in Vietnam. According to Kissinger, "limited" war "should be fought by applying 'graduated amounts of destruction' alternately with 'breathing spaces for political contacts'."

Dower's essay is in some ways the most frightening of all, because it explores the technology and *modus operandi* behind the Kissinger-Nixon doctrine. He talks about "seven and a half ton bombs (capable of causing internal hemorrhaging in anyone within a mile of the explosion)"; the 200 major military bases (many equipped with nuclear weapons) the U.S. maintains in Asia; MIRV's; C-5A military transport planes as long as two football fields; the projected 100-knot Navy; the electronic battlefield; oscillating power fields "that would seriously impair brain performance in very large populations in selected regions over an extended period"; mass-produced drought, hurricanes, frosts, and tidal waves; CBW (chemical-iological war) agents of all kinds, including "ethnic weapons," chemical agents especially designed to affect specific ethnic groups; "nominal yield" nuclear weapons; and many more horrors. He discusses the obvious racism of the new weapons systems as well as that involved in the Kissinger-Nixon doctrine itself, exemplified by statements such as Ellsworth Bunker's that Vietnamization simply means "changing the color of the corpses." Then later on he indulges in some racism himself, when discussing the use of Asian troops from one country to fight in imperialist wars in other Asian countries, an important aspect of the Kissinger-Nixon doctrine. He accuses the South Korean troups in Vietnam of having "distinguished themselves by their brutality" without pointing out the relative insignificance of this in relation to U.S. saturation bombing, our divide-and-rule policies which set Asian peoples against one another, and the overall brutality of U.S. imperialism.

Another important section of Dower's essay points out the concrete meaning of the Kissinger-Nixon neocolonial economic policy for Asia; exploitation of Asian raw materials; exploitation of cheap labor by foreign-controlled light industries, creation of captive Asian markets for products of industrialized capitalist countries; the use of Asian territory for pollution-causing industries frowned on at home; the milking of poor and even near-bankrupt countries such as Indonesia for profits by U.S. banks in exchange for alleged "financial services."

Finally, Dower discusses the role of Japan within the framework of the Nixon-Kissinger doctrine and the ambivalence of this role. He shows how the U.S. on the one hand encourages Japanese imperialism and militarism and on the other is afraid of it. He goes into the fear of Japanese power felt by other Asian countries, and recalls their World War II experience with the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. But he fails to mention the increasing importance of anti-imperialist forces within Japan, especially the Communist and Socialist Parties, who have scored large gains in recent elections.

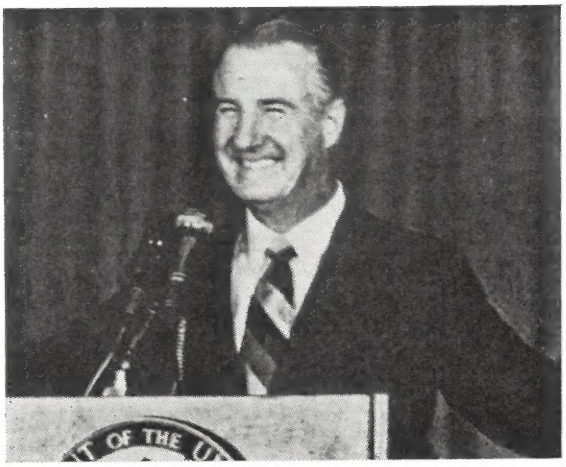
Dower does not give us much in the way of solutions in his description of the Kissinger-Nixon doctrine in Asia. Like many scholars today in capitalist countries, he finds it easy to elude the grasp of imperialism but cannot bring himself to embrace socialism. Near the end of his essay, he gives some idea of his goal for Asia when he talks wistfully of "creative pluralism," exploitative and socialist systems living side by side in peace. Surely he must realize that there can be no real peace until imperialism and neocolonialism disappear from the area, and this will only come about through struggle of progressive forces in each country toward their own road to socialism.

The weakest essay in *Open Secret* is Keith Buchanan's "Geography of Empire." It consists mostly of unreadable maps and out-of-date information, although it does bring together some useful facts on CBW training in the U.S. of foreign military personnel, U.S. foreign investment, U.S. military bases abroad, and Japanese overseas economic expansion.

In all, *Open Secret* is a useful collection of ideas and information which should serve to alert us to what we must struggle against in the months ahead.

Drive the Crooks Out of Washington

Let me make one thing clear—I'm no crook.



I wasn't either until they caught up with me.

IMPEACH

DISBAR

JAIL

The criminals, crooks, liars, tax cheaters. You know who they are and where to find them. What are you waiting for?

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